FARRAR, CAMERON. M.A. Spatial Fix, Labor Unrest and the Vacancy of Mass Media Attention: Analyzing News Framing within the Context of the North Carolina-United Kingdom International Trade MOU. (2024)
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In 2023, roughly 464,410 workers protested in the United States. Similarly, in the United Kingdom, there have been massive demonstrations of train strikes, teacher strikes and demonstrations from various sectors of labor. Workers have been active in detesting working conditions, unfair compensation and lack of benefits. However, this would not be widely known to the public if it were not for the coverage of news sources. In several ways, media plays a crucial role in the landscape of social movements: (a) lending legitimacy to the actions taken by documenting them publicly, (b) disseminating important information to the public, (c) and it increases the likelihood that people to action that increases the capacity of organizations. In order to understand the rise in labor unrest that took place in 2022 and 2023, respectively, it became important to understand the last 10 years of labor framing. From the thought of Beverly Silver, David Harvey and several other scholars, these two locations have been global participants in moving jobs outside of these territories and into the Global South. Even so, these businesses will, by design, run out of places to locate cheap labor, quite possibly resulting in relocating labor between locations in the Global North. This is precisely the significance of the Trade Memorandum of Understanding (MOU). The MOU reflects the commitment to U.K.-led investments in the state of North Carolina. With this in consideration, comparing media documentation of unrest in both locations is significant because of their similar positionality in the Global North. Additionally, they are both experiencing union decline. However, there is also a few differences that make this comparison significant. This relationship between these two places can be traced back to the time of American slavery which made Manchester the first

industrial city in the World. Today, North Carolina, remains a conservative-leaning state and Manchester has been a strong supporter of the Labour Party for decades. In this content analysis, the sample is comprised of 301 articles published between 2013 and 2023 that discuss activity amongst workers and businesses. The intention is to identify any trends in the content and frequencies of these articles. The questions that are being addressed here are: how is labor unrest being documented by media outlets and is this material unrest a part of a larger Core-to-Core Spatial Fix?

# SPATIAL FIX, LABOR UNREST AND THE VACANCY OF MASS MEDIA ATTENTION:

## ANALYZING NEWS FRAMEWORK WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE

## NORTH CAROLINA-UNITED KINGDOM INTERNATIONAL

TRADE MOU

by

Cameron Farrar

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Approved by

Dr. Şahan Savaş Karataşli Committee Chair

# DEDICATION

I dedicate this to my grandmother, a union woman; my grandfather, the hardest working man I know; and the many who have shown me grace while I worked diligently towards fulfilling the requirements of this degree.

# APPROVAL PAGE

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#### CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Big businesses are making themselves at home in North Carolina's crumbling labor market. Garnering the title of "America's Top State for Business in 2023" for the second consecutive year in CNBC's state competitiveness ratings, in recent years, North Carolina has attracted many large corporations from Apple to Bosch, to Vietnamese electric vehicle manufacturer VinFast (Cohn, 2023). Although business-friendly news sources highlight these companies moving to North Carolina due to the state's "world-class workforce" and "booming economy", the real attractors for these businesses to the Tar Heel State seem to be low wages sustained by low costs of living, harsh labor legislation, low business taxes, and minimal bureaucracy. In short, in line with the neoliberal form of governance (Harvey, 2007), North Carolina has been attracting big businesses at the expense of neglecting workers' basic needs, effectively overlooking their fundamental rights as individuals. The precarious state of the labor market is legitimized by the belief that low tax incentives will motivate businesses to offer workers competitive salaries and benefits (Stewart, 2022). Not surprisingly, these businesses have done nothing of the sort, leaving North Carolina workers in a vulnerable position to attract more and more business opportunities.

Interestingly enough even the politicians and businesses in the United Kingdom (U.K.) recognized the opportunities for capital accumulation presented by the business climate in North Carolina. In July of 2022, North Carolina Governor Roy Cooper and the U.K. Minister for International Trade Penny Mordaunt entered into a major trade agreement to strengthen economic ties with one another. The Memorandum of Understanding (MOU), titled Cooperation and Trade Relations between the US State of North Carolina and the United Kingdom<sup>1</sup> signaled the beginning

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 $<sup>^{1}\</sup> The\ MOU\ is\ accessible\ at\ this\ link:\ https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/uk-and-north-carolina-co-operation-and-trade-memorandum-of-understanding/memorandum-of-understanding-mou-on-operation-and-trade-memorandum-of-understanding-mou-on-operation-and-trade-memorandum-of-understanding-mou-on-operation-and-trade-memorandum-of-understanding-mou-on-operation-and-trade-memorandum-of-understanding-memorandum-of-understanding-mou-on-operation-and-trade-memorandum-of-understanding-mou-on-operation-and-trade-memorandum-of-understanding-mou-on-operation-and-trade-memorandum-of-understanding-mou-on-operation-and-trade-memorandum-of-understanding-mou-on-operation-and-trade-memorandum-of-understanding-mou-on-operation-and-trade-memorandum-of-understanding-mou-on-operation-and-trade-memorandum-of-understanding-mou-on-operation-and-trade-memorandum-of-understanding-mou-on-operation-and-trade-memorandum-of-understanding-mou-on-operation-and-trade-memorandum-of-understanding-memorandum-of-understanding-memorandum-of-understanding-memorandum-of-understanding-memorandum-of-understanding-memorandum-of-understanding-memorandum-of-understanding-memorandum-of-understanding-memorandum-of-understanding-memorandum-of-understanding-memorand-$ 

of a major trade relationship between the UK and North Carolina. Although the MOU document reflects a commitment to deployment of clean energy and clean technology to tackle climate change and to further cultural and economic ties between North Carolina and the United Kingdom, the main purpose of this document and the agreement seems to be about removing trade barriers, reducing bureaucracy, and increasing the U.K-led investment in North Carolina. This relationship being strong is crucial because trade between these two places was valued at \$2.5 billion (Greater Manchester Combined, 2023). The U.K. Minister for International Trade, a longtime member of the Conservative Party, explained this MOU to the public highlighting that "North Carolina is home to some of the US' most exciting companies – from Honeywell to Labcorp – and was recently named America's top state for business (Cohn, 2023). Trade between North Carolina In February 2023, Greater Manchester became the first city-region to visit North Carolina on this "UK-first mission" to boost trade and investment. Regarding this visit, Andy Burnham, the mayor of Greater Manchester, said:

"Greater Manchester is proud to be leading the UK's first city-region trade mission to North Carolina as part of the deal struck by Government last year. Our city-region has strong ties to the US that run through our shared histories and shape our ambitions for the future, and we want this to be the first step towards stronger cooperation that will unlock real benefits for people and businesses right here in our 10 boroughs.<sup>2</sup>"

cooperation- and-trade-relations- between-the-us-state-of-north-carolina- and-the-united-kingdom # section-1-purpose

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> "Greater Manchester Leads UK First Mission to North Carolina", available at: https://www.greatermanchester-ca.gov.uk/news/greater-manchester-leads-uk-first-mission-to-north-carolina-to-boost-trade-investment-and-cooperation/

In this thesis, I will critically examine the social dynamics underpinning the significant trade partnership between the United Kingdom and North Carolina, with a focus on the Manchester-North Carolina connection. This investigation aims to uncover whether these trade agreements signify a new form of 'spatial fix' (Harvey, 2001; Silver, 2003) —a concept broadly referring to the geographic relocation of capital—prompted by increasing labor militancy within the UK. This analysis of the UK-NC trade dynamic as a potential labor unrest-driven spatial fix presents three intriguing research concerns, which are pivotal to ongoing scholarly debates.

First, are we witnessing a novel spatial fix pattern between core countries of the Global North (especially between UK and US), differentiating itself from the well-documented capital migration from Global North to Global South in the post-1970 era in response to escalation of labor unrest in the Global North (Silver, 2003)?

Second, if this UK-NC trade relationship is indeed a spatial fix stimulated by labor unrest, does this indicate a reversal in the historical trend of declining labor militancy in core regions like the UK?

Third, if there is indeed a shift in labor unrest trends in the UK sufficient to drive such a spatial fix, why isn't a similar increase observed in North Carolina? Could this discrepancy be attributed to the distinct social, political, or cultural landscapes of North Carolina and Manchester, or does it rather hinge on the manner in which public opinion is shaped by the framing of labor unrest in media narratives?

#### CHAPTER II: THREE INTERLINKING PUZZLES

#### The Historical Position of Labor Unrest

In the winter of 2022, while the MOU between North Carolina and the United Kingdom was under preparation, I spent nearly a month abroad. While in England during my winter holiday, I visited various English cities, including Manchester, and I observed that, in some capacity, there were strikes in all of them. Almost as soon as I arrived, I experienced my first train cancellation. The train didn't run because those who made the trains functional were fighting for better benefits to alleviate over 10% of inflation they were experiencing (Gooding, 2023). In addition to these sporadic cancellations, there were also strategically planned days when the trains would not operate. These dates were found all over the train station and encouraged travelers to take advantage of a different mode of transportation on that day – including Christmas Eve. In the midst of paying nearly \$300 in unexpected taxi fares, I had no choice but to be impressed with the effectiveness of every cancellation. Every cancellation costs the consumer both their time and money, which puts pressure on the railing companies to provide better service, which will not happen unless the workers' demands are met.

On a particular evening, the radio British Broadcasting Company (BBC) broadcasted updates about the United Kingdom National Health Services (NHS) strike. Additionally, in the middle of giving a small presentation at the University of Hull on *Racialized Capitalism and Environmental Racism*, one of the attendees began to discuss their frustrations with wages that were stolen from them. Moreso, their frustrations with the legal cost of proving their wages were stolen. These legal fees were ultimately too expensive and would cost them almost the amount of money that had already been unlawfully withheld from them. This was an evident failure that prevented justice. On the train – frustrated customers would discuss the inconvenience of the

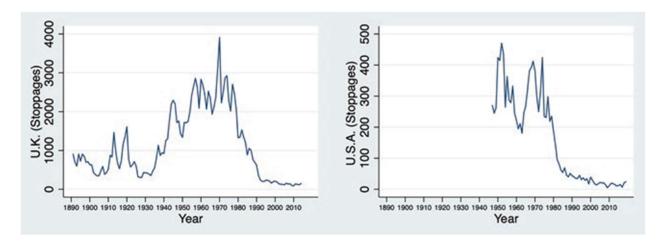
striking, and at one point, I recall a woman leaning over to another passenger and saying, "They make such a fuss about wanting to make more and getting their demands met, at this point — why shouldn't I strike too?", which felt sarcastic. Still, the fact of the matter is it may not be entirely out of the question, to begin with.

These incidents and anecdotes collectively paint a picture of rising social and economic tensions in the United Kingdom, leading to an escalation of labor militancy; and they do not seem to be coincidental and isolated events. After all, the United Kingdom inflation's rate was as high as 11.1 percent in October of 2022, the highest in over 40 years. This high inflation rate coupled with increasing cost of living has naturally led laborers across different sectors advocating for their rights and better conditions (Gooding, 2023). This cost-of-living distress is identifiable in almost every sector. Moreso, this included educators that are members of the University and College Union (UCU), who have demonstrated several strikes since their founding in 2006. In January, the announcement of 18 strike days for the spring 2023 semester (Williams, 2023).

Nevertheless, these incidents and anecdotes I observed in the United Kingdom are at odds with the dominant expectations in the mainstream social science literature regarding the dynamics of labor unrest in the Global North in the post-1970 era. After all, since the 1980s, social scientists have believed that working-class movements are shrinking (Eley & Nield, 2000; Milkman, 2020; Western & Rosenfield, 2012; Freeman, 2007), especially in the Global North. As early as 1978, the British Marxist historian Eric Hobsbawm began to predict a world-historically significant decline of labor militancy in the United Kingdom and the global north, which he called the "halt of the forward march of labour" (Hobsbawm, 1981). This tendency was observed in the official empirical data on frequency of work stoppages in the U.S. and the

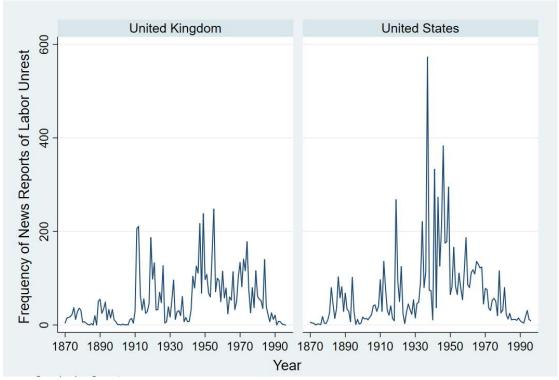
U.K. (Figure 1) as well as the number of news reports on labor unrest in these two countries (Figure 2).

Figure 1: Frequency of strikes and labor disputes in the United Kingdom and the USA, 1890-2013.



Source: Karataşli (2022: 212)

Figure 2: Frequency of News Reports of Labor Unrest in United Kingdom and United States, from International News Reports



Source: Silver (2003). Silver uses the World Labor Group Database, available at https://arrighinetwork.org/data-2/wlgdata/.

Consequently, since the early 1990s, there has become an established and dominant position that labor unrest has been steadily decreasing, given the rise of globalization. Likewise, social revolutions have been documented to be obsolete (Gorz, 2001; Sewell, 1993; Snyder, 1999; Western & Rosenfield, 2012). Some scholars believe that the likelihood of revolutions (including the working class driven revolutions) are lessening due to the strengthening of the spread of democracy, market-based economics, a growing middle class and transnationalism (Snyder, 1999; Abramowitz, & Teixeira, 2009). Others have found that while labor unrest is declining, it is due to a very aggressive advancement of anti-worker policy, union membership decline and the lack of positive union rapport with businesses (Clawson & Clawson, 1999;

Western & Rosenfield, 2012), which, today, makes them virtually powerless. Many have settled in the understanding that this unrest exists with the fuel of collectives situated in their identities and thus act in the interests of the laborers represented in their in-group (Pakulski & Waters, 1996). Coupling this with the modern context of how ineffective unions are actively, this is a case for why people appear to be organizing around race or gender and not around their class position (Clawson & Clawson, 1990). At a similar time to the United States, the literature began to express concern over the decreasing strength of the working class in Britain (Eley & Nield, 2000; Gorz, 2001).

My personal observations of heightened labor militancy in the U.K. in the summer of last year, however, did not correspond to this literature. This was the exact moment the alarm bells in my consciousness began to ring. Something *was* wrong here. Union membership in the U.K is down, it is a deindustrialized state, England is one of the so-called leaders of the free world and our researchers have made it clear that we have moved passed the age of organizing on the basis of class; what is it that is happening now that is bringing this to the forefront? Has something changed in the historical trends of labor conditions and labor unrest? This is the first puzzle I want to address.

# A Core-to-Core Spatial Fix?

The second puzzle this thesis deals with is about the dynamics of a spatial fix. A spatial fix can broadly be defined as the geographical relocation of capital as a temporary solution to the crisis of capital. David Harvey (2001:24) explains that he first deployed "the term 'spatial fix' to describe capitalism's insatiable drive to resolve its inner crisis tendencies by geographical expansion and geographical restructuring." Thus, spatial fixes have sometimes been utilized as fleeting and temporary solutions to absorb over-accumulated capital (Harvey, 2011). Silver builds

on Harvey and emphasizes that spatial fixes are also utilized to resolve the problem of decreasing profits due to intensified labor unrest in a region (Silver, 2003). Globalization on a large scale is reliant on never ending spatial fixes (Harvey, 2001; Harvey, 2011), because, as Silver (2003) puts it "where capital goes, conflict goes", and it pushes capital to seek new locations for investment and exploitation. Historically, labor-unrest driven spatial fixes have moved from Global North to Global South, or put differently, from core countries to semi-peripheral and peripheral countries.

The Global South has been an attractive location for private entities as an opportunity to access a labor force without being accountable to reasonable labor laws and union advocacy (Blanton & Blanton, 2016). In the geographical relocation of capital and the interests of capitalists, we can assume that conflict will follow (Silver, 2003). This is reasonable because where capitalist exploitation goes, so does inequality (Chan et al., 2020; Choudry & Hlatshwayo, 2016). Primarily, this is because the spatial fix is so temporary that capitalists quickly move these issues from one location to another. Sure, this evades the issue of labor cost and labor organization temporarily, but the nature of their hyper-capitalist for-profit business pedagogy will continue to organize workers against their aggressive anti-worker business frames (Silver, 2003).

The issue of spatial fix is not only a question for private entities; it also deals closely with laborers. In regard to the workers, there is also a spatial fix dilemma. At each stage of monumental capitalist development, there is a shift in the way working class organizations and unions will interact with both workers and capitalists. In the midst of an emerging new capitalist landscape, workers will have to reimagine the role, ability and effectiveness of the modern union (Clawson & Clawson, 1999). In a widely anti-worker state, laborers also become creative and calculated about executing small scale disruption, which includes refusal to work more often, sabotage, slowdowns and losses in output (Silver, 2003). If they can be successful in their struggles though,

capital can still relocate to a new location with cheap labor and new exploitation opportunities.

That's why, historically, spatial fixes gradually moved from core to semi-peripheral and to countries when faced with labor unrest.

This causes an interesting puzzle for the possibility of a labor-unrest driven spatial fix from Manchester to North Carolina. What are the dynamics of such a core to core spatial fix? What social, economic and political structures of North Carolina appear to be attractive to Manchester-based businesses if they are really looking to find new investment opportunities during this heightened unrest?

## **Labor Unrest in North Carolina**

This brings us to the third puzzle that this thesis wants to explain regarding the current state of labor unrest in North Carolina. If Manchester-based companies will be investing in North Carolina to escape intensified labor unrest in the U.K, does it mean, the same trends in labor militancy are not happening in North Carolina, U.S?

As a North Carolina native, I understood that the state has long sponsored the notion that collective bargaining sounded good in theory but would be catastrophic in practice. Nothing I could see indicated it could not be a successful remedy for labor struggles; I only saw numerous organizations reporting the alleged union-busting practices from large corporations. None of which has continued to be circulated consistently in the local and national news.

Despite these legal restrictions, I have always seen direct acts of worker resistance in North Carolina. In 2013, I recall educators standing in front of Culbreth Middle School in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, in their "Red for Ed" shirts. I remember being in solidarity with their demands – better wages. At the time, I certainly was not old enough to understand class struggle. While these protests and collective demonstrations reflected to the Chapel Hill - Carrboro City Schools may

not exist within the realm of collective bargaining due to legal constraints, they still exist within the actions of labor resistance and struggle that unfolded right in front of my adolescent eyes.

One would be puzzled to know that these modern acts of labor resistance exist in defiance of existing literature. Our material world has managed to disobey the academic findings of a generously sized community. Researchers have confidently resounded that the modern laborer will not resist in a collective wave like the laborers of the past (Gorz, 2001; Sewell, 1993; Snyder, 1999; Western & Rosenfield, 2012). However, this does not abruptly vanish these labor activities from reality. In fact, in a compressed space-time-continuum with each moment being saturated in the resilience of the modern laborer, if we do not look to these instances with a trained eye to see it for what it is in our society, we are effectively participating in disappearing it. It was with this specific reckoning that it felt necessary to turn to the news. Surely, all the most pressing and significant news has made its way to me in various headlining notifications and front-page articles discussing the most allegedly unfathomable acts of collective resistance.

Throughout this endeavor, there are two questions that have remained unwavering. Has modern labor unrest begun to morph into a working-class movement or has this steadfast movement simply gone misdiagnosed? Regardless of the answer to the previous question, is the same phenomenon being experienced in Manchester and North Carolina?

Indeed, there is some evidence that working class struggles are also increasing in the U.S. in general. While boarding my international flight to England, for example, I followed updates posted on social media from a UCLA graduate student participating in the 48,000 academic worker strike. I was unaware then, but in the coming days, student employees would begin to receive notification that they could lose their benefits if they continued not performing their job-specific tasks. It should be noted here that California is widely considered to be a pro-labor state, and yet,

there is still the ability of a neoliberal institution to administer disruptions of laborers advocating for themselves. On December 2nd, 2022, just a few days prior, the United States President Joseph Biden had signed a motion to end the freight worker strike without meeting their most crucial demand – one paid sick day. Blocking the continuation of the strike was essential to defuse the strike ahead of several winter holidays and not delay the national appetite for consumerism. Even so, with anti-labor positionality the state firmly stands in, the dominate literature conflicts with this even manifesting in our society.

I believe that labor frustration is inescapable, and the attempts to erase working class struggle, effectively sanitizes elaborate and effective acts of labor resistance. It is healthy to critique and study labor unrest from all avenues. The literature regarding the protest and striking efforts of laborers that is rich and should be reviewed thoughtfully. It should also be acknowledged that some social movements are happening on the basis of identities such as race or gender (Therborn, 2014; Pakulski & Waters, 1996). Additionally, in the proposition that the working class is no longer organizing around class position, we run the ultimately risk of becoming blind to the very blatant and significant ways that laborers are organizing with a class consciousness at the core of their initiatives<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> In a Marxian understanding, class struggle is entirely reliant on common interest fueling the agitation against the bourgeoise class (Marx & Engles, 1848). The logical conclusion would be that no working-class struggle would be present uniformly against the class that maintains ownerships over the means of production. If so, our current society on a global scale should reflect a resounding and blatant death of the working-class. Historically, the struggle of peasants, serfs, and those who worked in grim reality precede us in such a manner that if we are no longer seeing this fight, it must effectively mean that members of the working class have found upward class mobility or have been chastised entirely out of the public narrative. Effectively so, where there are workers; there

Having this said, if the business companies from Manchester believe that North Carolina is a very business-friendly state with low levels of labor unrest, there must be a reason that would justify their rationale. I believe that part of the answer lies in the legal structures of North Carolina and part of it lies in the way media frames and "edits out" existing labor unrest incidents, which I will elaborate below. I must add at the outset that no matter how the media might frame news reports to cast North Carolina in a business-friendly light, this cannot indefinitely mask the underlying material conditions that are conducive to labor unrest within the state. Should labor unrest begin to escalate in North Carolina in a way that would disrupt business environment, it could significantly undermine the stability of a potential core-core spatial fix from Manchester to North Carolina.

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must be struggle. If there is no sign of struggle, it is our responsibility to find what mechanism the state is using to make them disappear.

#### CHAPTER III: MAIN ARGUMENT, PREMISES AND HYPOTHESES

## Globalization, Labor Unrest and Spatial Fix

There are many advocates for globalization, and rightfully so. It is responsible for creating opportunities, enabling access to one another, and the ability to connect with an international community. However, this comes with a byproduct of globalization that is responsible for accelerating the pace of labor exploitation (Silver, 2003). In fact, David Harvey concludes that globalization is actually the contemporary manifestation of capitalism's chronic reliance on a spatial fix to subdue its crisis tendencies (Harvey, 2001). In recent years, to promote this notion of free market accessibility that theoretically supports workers by "trickling down" to them, global forces have divested institutions responsible for regulating and monitoring capital flows (Tilly, 1995). This has been a favored position of conservative leadership, boasting policies of rugged neoliberalism to reduce the government's role in protecting workers. Coupled with this is the reality of increasingly devalued labor; as industries reinvent themselves at the accelerated pace that globalization allows, workers are finding that the value of their labor is being tempered (Gorz, 2010).

With global capitalism at the forefront of labor exploitation, corporations and businesses have taken advantage of international opportunities that allow them to evade the legal accountability of any single state (Tilly, 1995). In the traditional understanding of a spatial fix, the Global South is popular among capitalists due to low wages, the absence of labor laws, and a workforce available for excruciatingly cheap labor. This occurs because in a spatial fix, when labor becomes too organized, capitalists begin to look for unregulated markets that allow for cheaper labor costs (Harvey, 2011). This has become a burden carried by laborers in the Global North, but is increasingly devastating for laborers in the Global South (Leon, 2015). Former colonial powers,

now modern imperialists, have inflicted familiar colonial wounds in a way that permeates the global labor force in a neoliberal and polished manner.

Snyder (1999) argues that the modern era has moved beyond the revolutions of the past, but many scholars, suggest that this view does not account for the substantial resistance observed internationally (Karataşlı, 2021). Both labor militancy and revolutions appear to be key elements of our times (Beissinger, 2022). Workers in the Global North, who have experienced a loss of rights and privileges since the 1980s—a stark contrast to the gains made from 1930 to 1970—seem to have reached a tipping point and are now actively striving to regain their rights.

In terms of labor unrest, the reality seems to align more closely with the premise of globalization that "where capital goes, conflict follows" (Silver, 2003). As labor conflict intensifies, capital seeks new locations offering a more fertile "business-friendly" climate for capital accumulation. Although historically, semi-peripheral and peripheral countries in the Global South have provided this climate, in the 21st century, states in core countries, like North Carolina, are increasingly doing so through capitalist-friendly legal structures. These structures oppress labor while providing ample opportunities, such as tax reductions, to large corporations, effectively taking advantage of capital trying to escape increased labor militancy. This tendency complements what Ciccantell et al. (2023) refer to as the "re-peripheralization of the United States."

Yet, this trend is not sustainable. According to this theory, the pressure of the spatial fix that encouraged businesses to move to North Carolina (or similar regions in the U.S.) should also be organizing workers and preparing the conditions for new rounds of class struggle in the medium term. As we see labor unrest increase, workers are also escalating their approach to unrest, in new forms. An ongoing example of this is the emergence of union organizing within Right-to-Work states. One such example is the Union of Southern Service Workers (USSW) as a part of the

Service Employees International Union (SEIU). The Union of Southern Service Workers is composed of workers from North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama – all Right-to-Work States (Union of Southern Service Workers, 2023). This union includes low-wage workers in the care, fast-food, and retail industries.

Regarding small-scale labor resistance, the common response has been a shift toward automated industries (Silver, 2023). However, this is where the temporary nature of the spatial fix begins to emerge. Certainly, considering the industries of the future, it would be unrealistic to claim that any industry is safe from automation. Yet, eventually, we will be faced with people who have been pushed out of the labor market but still require funds to survive. In this scenario, capitalists will either need to adopt more labor-friendly practices or the state will have to expand socialized industries to ensure that the needs of its citizens are met.

## Media Framing and its Influence on Public Opinion

Laboring in the Global North presents challenges that extend beyond wages and working conditions. This is particularly evident when working- and middle-class laborers fail to find solidarity with one another. However, this lack of solidarity is not due to dissimilar struggles; rather, it's because laborers do not perceive their struggles as similar (Hechter, 1978; Karataşli, 2022). Media outlets play a crucial role in disseminating information to people. This is not a result of unfortunate design, but rather a consequence of a manufactured framing of labor issues. The way in which people frame their circumstances and experiences enables them to make sense of a broader context (Goffman, 1972). Media may provide context to the observed decline in media coverage of unions and union participation (Godard, 2009). When the framing of their circumstances leads to disillusionment, it distorts individuals' perception of themselves and their environment.

With this consideration in mind, the media holds a profound responsibility to frame the truth propagated by hegemonic overseers. In other words, it is quite possible to lack identification with workers striking for comprehensive wages if one does not see how their victory aids in one's own interests. Here lies the case of the self-identified bourgeoisie: upper-middle-class laborers who display an unwavering allegiance to a class disposition that is not their own (Žižek, 2012).

News coverage can make massive waves in a labor movement. While being informative, being highlighted in a capacity lends some legitimacy to the social movement being highlighted (Andrew & Caren, 2010). Without media coverage to some degree, we risk losing the documentation piece of something occurring (Koopmans, 2004). It is also in a unique position to move people to action and increase the organizing capacity of groups organizing (Andrews & Caren, 2010; Andrews & Biggs, 2006).

A critical analysis of news reports through qualitative analysis is in efforts to better understand the contemporary trends of labor unrest in the leading centers of capitalism. It is incredibly difficult to evade press releases, breaking news, and even the latest familial outings of celebrities. However, it was seemingly quite easy not to see any leading stories reiterating that the Economic Policy Institute believes that in 2022, a possible 60 million Americans wanted to unionize but were unable to (Shierholz et al., 2023). This is concerning because a swift vow of silence also turns a collective of 60 million people (about twice the population of Texas), into 60 million individuals struggling independently from the others. Especially considering that this is not the first contemporary example, a significant number of laborers have expressed deep interest in union representation. In the mid 90s, 44% of laborers surveyed in the Worker Representation and Participation Survey favored union participation (Freeman, 2007). Beyond these two instances, we seem to habitually fail to identify news regarding labor unrest. Note that these are

not necessarily "newsworthy" which implies being simply interesting; but "news-necessary", meaning that the public benefits generally from having access to this critical information. Through a Durkheimian lens and understanding, we are dividing laborers by default when we miss the mark of divulging significant information about laborers, to laborers. Which ultimately dilutes the ability to harvest organic solidarity. It is for this purpose that investigating how our news impacts our perception of labor unrest is important. Simply because if it were not significant, it would not be hidden.

### **Hypotheses**

Since the relocation of companies to a new location takes several years, we will not be able to directly observe within the scope of this thesis whether we are experiencing a labor-unrest driven spatial fix by tracking companies. However, we can examine the conditions conducive to such major relocation and restructuring. Based on the arguments and premises outlined above, I propose the following hypotheses to be examined in this thesis:

Hypothesis 1: There has been a rapid increase in labor unrest both in the United Kingdom (including Manchester) and in North Carolina in recent years, which marks a significant deviation from the previous decades characterized by a low level of labor unrest. Yet, due to legal-political structures that suppress labor organization in North Carolina, the increase in North Carolina is not as pronounced as that observed in Manchester and it would emerge later than Manchester.

If this hypothesis holds true, it could support the notion that we may soon observe a labor-unrest driven spatial fix, with capital shifting from Manchester to North Carolina. However, this outcome is not certain. For capital to move to North Carolina, it is essential for the state's political and business communities to develop and maintain a "business-friendly" image, especially in media representations. This leads to the following, second hypothesis:

Hypothesis 2: To preserve a "business-friendly" image, news outlets in North Carolina have been framing incidents of labor unrest in ways that continue to depict the state as favorable to business.

#### CHAPTER IV: METHODS AND DATA

To assess the validity of these two hypotheses, this thesis utilizes a comparative method that includes both quantitative and qualitative content analysis of labor unrest as reported in news sources in the USA and the U.K. This analysis aims to assess the evolving trends of labor unrest and examine the framing of these events within news articles about labor relations in Manchester and North Carolina.

# **Quantitative and Qualitative Content Analysis**

I analyzed the content of newspaper articles about labor unrest and media framing in Manchester and North Carolina using a combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis.

In order to retrieve articles that focused on labor unrest, this research project utilized "News and Newspapers" database located in ProQuest. In refining the search on North Carolina labor movement from here, the following keywords will be used: "Labor\*, Protest\*, Strik\*, Employ\*, Union\*, Collective Bargain\* and Work\*". Then, I added "North Carolina" to the search of "document titles" before searching for articles. I then repeated the same process again for "Manchester" as the document title and all of the same keywords while exchanging Labor\* for Labour\* in the search engine. The included articles have then been divided based on if they are discussing Manchester or North Carolina. I read the articles and analyze them both quantitatively and qualitatively.

Using the same database, I also searched for relevant articles about businesses. For North Carolina businesses, I used the following key words in various successions to find suitable results: relocat\*, CEO, Profit\*, Gain\*, Welcom\*. Then, I added "North Carolina" and "Business" to the search of "document titles" before searching for articles. To investigate business oriented article in relation to Manchester, UK, I used the following Keywords: CEO, Profit\*, Business\*, Record\*,

Earn\*, Tech\*, Media, Manufactur\*, Invest\*, Fil\*. Then, I added "Manchester" and "Business" to the search of "document titles" before searching for articles.

Quantitatively, I used this data to track the changing frequency of labor unrest in Manchester and North Carolina over time from 2013 to 2023 to establish a time-series trend, as done by World Labor Group data for the earlier periods (Silver, 2003). I used this information to assess the validity of Hypothesis 1.

Then, I coded, analyzed and discussed the positive/pro-labor, neutral/informational and negative/anti-labor positions of the news article has on each labor unrest articles using a more qualitative approach. This helped me identify the different ways in which the news sources are "framing" the labor unrest events in North Carolina and Manchester. In this category, positive/prolabor news portrayal is based on the articles ability to do one or more of the following things: highlights workers conditions by quoting the workers directly, identify the way that a group of workers are actively being oppressed, publish future protests or striking opportunities or speak directly and exclusively in criticism to the business responsible for the unrest. Articles that are inclusive of strike dates, document that a protest occurred, explain the context the workers are demonstrating unrest in; are qualified as neutral and informational. Lastly, articles that are identified as having negative/anti-labor portrayals of labor unrest encourage crossing the picket line, speak negatively about labor organizing, encouraging privatization to avoid union strikes and promote negative views of those organizing unrest that are based on individual characteristics or unsubstantiated claims. This comparative and qualitative content analysis will help me address the plausibility of Hypothesis 2.

## **Comparing North Carolina and Manchester**

Using the quantitative and qualitative information I have on labor unrest in North Carolina and Manchester, this thesis assesses the validity of the proposed hypotheses, and discusses whether or not we are witnessing a labor-unrest-driven spatial fix, with capital shifting from Manchester to North Carolina. Both the quantitative and qualitative analysis presented in the thesis is implicitly comparative in nature, which considers North Carolina and Manchester not as two isolated locations but as two regions with deep historical connections. I consider whether or not the trade agreement between North Carolina and the United Kingdom is a spatial fix, focusing on the historical dynamics in both regions with an eye to their specific social, political and historical differences.

Several key features, similarities and differences between North Carolina and Manchester must be considered to make sense of these two locations in light of quantitative and qualitative evidence. For example, there are 26 states in the United States that are "right-to-work" states, which limits state inhabitants from accessing collective bargaining. North Carolina is one of these states, but more importantly, as a southern state, North Carolina also has a complex, rich history of labor struggle. This struggle is recognized to have links to slavery and gender-based inequality. Home to several booming industries, last year, the state was recognized as the "Best Place for Businesses." North Carolina has a corporate tax of 2.5%. Currently, this is the lowest in the United States, with the rest of the states averaging 8%. However, this is proposed to decrease again in 2025 until it is ultimately zero percent by 2030. These are corporate tax rates that the current North Carolina governor, Roy Cooper, believes will "incentivize" corporations to compensate their workers adequately (Stewart, 2022). In contrast to this, in terms of labor rights, North Carolina is ranked 52nd, behind D.C. and Puerto Rico. This stark contrast is manufactured with the help of

the state. Since 2008, North Carolina's minimum wage has been \$7.25 an hour and \$2.13 an hour for tipped workers. The case for this state is compelling because it is, arguably, the worst state for workers.

Of those incentives mentioned above, we have managed to attract the United Kingdom's attention as a safe haven for business. In the midst of the many massive demonstrations of labor struggle in England, it comes as no surprise that they would be attracted to a labor market that is much more repressive of laborers.

With all of this in mind, it felt necessary to investigate how Manchester and North Carolina are connected via labor. In the United States and England, there has been a decrease in union membership in recent years. In fact, union membership has been on the decline since 1995, with the exception of trade unions membership, which has been on the rise for the past four years. Even so, repeatedly in the last several decades, laborers have expressed interest in being a part of a union, but they are unable to join for a plethora of reasons that are intentionally outside of their control (Freeman, 2007; Shierholz et al., 2023; Western & Rosenfield, 2012). The lack of workers rights is paired with what seems to be an increase in labor unrest. This leads me to believe that there may be a negative correlation between union members and labor unrest. Additionally, England, specifically, also has a diverse sector of laborers and a history of collective bargaining, even under striking conservative leadership, which outwardly seems to be a sign of a healthy democracy. With its presence of trade unions, and labor rights, and as the home of several notable labor parties, on paper, England seemed to be embracing labor organizing in a way that North Carolina seems afraid of. I say seemingly because nothing is this simple. Conservative leadership in general in England still believe that strikes are "abusive" and "wicked" for their society and these uncomfortabilities have been echoed by conservative leadership in North Carolina as well

(Jones, 2022). However, the cost-of-living crisis that has become more unbearable in recent years seems to have challenged laborers in both countries.

**Table 1: Stylized Comparison of Manchester and North Carolina** 

	Manchester	North Carolina
Union Membership in Comparison	Manchester has more union members	North Carolina has less union membership
Industrial Manufacturing	Manchester is the home of the first industrial city to ever exist in the world	
Ties to American Slavery	Beneficial of cheap cotton coming from Southern United States, specifically North Carolina	Beneficiary of selling cotton harvested by enslaved people to Manchester and other parts of England
In the Context of Globalization of Labor Sourcing	Manchester has outsourced labor to Global South as a spatial fix.	North Carolina has outsourced factor labor to the Global South as a spatial fix.
In the context of Colonialism and Imperialism	Manchester belongs to the United Kingdom, a longstanding colonial and imperialist power in the Global South.	North Carolina belongs to the United States of America, a longstanding colonial and imperialist power in the Global South.
Corporate Tax Rate	Manchester has a 25% corporate tax rate.	North Carolina has a 2.5% corporate tax rate that is set to be 0% by 2030.
Union Membership Independently of the Other Location	Union membership is declining in Manchester.	Union membership is declining in North Carolina.
Political Representation	Manchester is represented by the Labour Party.	North Carolina is represented politically by a conservative party in local government.
Minimum Wages	Manchester's minimum wage is £9.50 (converts to \$11.50).	North Carolina's minimum wage is \$7.25 (converts to £5.89).

Manchester became a focal point because of its positionality in the industrial revolution.

Manchester was the first industrial city in the world. Today, Manchester is home to more worker

friendly politics as it is a strong supporter of the Labour Party. The people of Manchester ousted their last conservative Member of Parliament in 1987. Considering all of this, one could conclude that this specific city has perfected the art of prioritizing laborers. However, both Manchester and North Carolina are part of a broader context that informs their historical presence and modern presence as laborers. Their respective nations are both hegemonic world powers. Without a doubt, neoliberalism is ever present in both locations and has been for quite some time. The stage of labor is reliant on the geopolitical involvement of workers who put in situations that do not benefit them for the sake of capital for their employers. Additionally, frustrations harbored by the union and non-union members of the workforce in Manchester are similar to the frustrations that workers experience in North Carolina. Laborers from each respective location are fighting against the impact of inflation, lack of benefits, and, more broadly – dignity as laborers. This leads me to believe that if these two specific locations can be so vastly different and still have similar labor frustrations, perhaps something is happening on a global scale that reflects the social, political, and economic pressure against the working class.

## Frequency of Labor Unrest in Manchester and North Carolina

Figure 3 and 4 present frequencies of labor unrest in Manchester and North Carolina using two different strategies. The keyword search in the digital archives of ProQuest, using the strategy explained in the methods section, produced 155 articles between 2013 and 2023. Among these 155 articles, 137 of them are about unique news reports about labor unrest incidents that took place in Manchester and North Carolina. As Figure 3 presents the frequency of these unique mentions of labor unrest articles in these two locations.

Figure 3: The Frequency of Labor Unrest Articles, 2013-2023, Manchester and North Carolina (Only Unique True Positives Included)

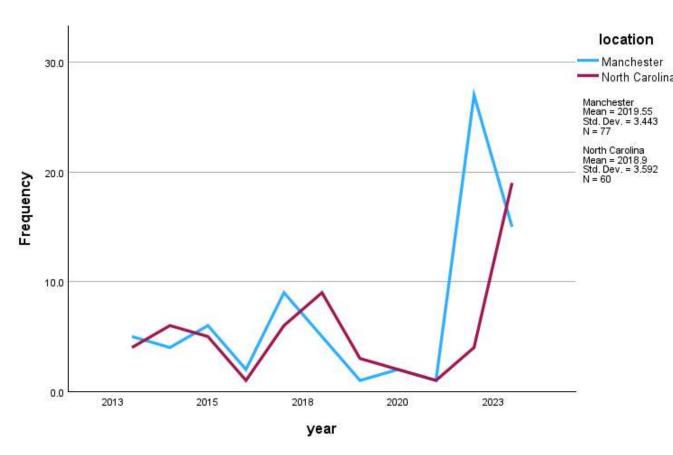
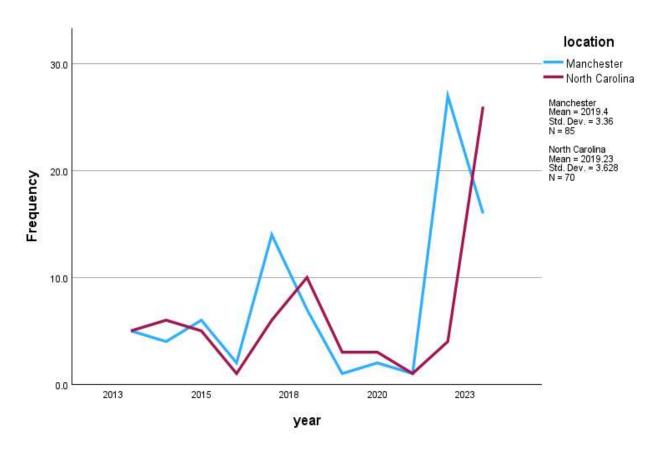


Figure 4 presents the pattern of all 155 articles, which not only include all news reports about all unique true positive labor unrest events, but also different articles on the same labor unrest event from different sources (multiple mentions of the same event) as well as other articles labor unrest events in the U.S.A that mentions the labor conditions in North Carolina in relation to the ongoing labor unrest events (indirect mentions).

Figure 4: The Frequency of Labor Unrest Articles, 2013-2023, Manchester and North Carolina (Multiple and Indirect Mentions Included)



According to both Figure 3 and 4, there is a peak in labor unrest events in Manchester in 2017 and in 2022; in North Carolina, there is a peak in 2018 and in 2023. In Manchester, 62% of the labor unrest events related news reports falls within the time range of 2017-2022. For Manchester, 2022 was the year that the most labor unrest articles appeared in news outlets. In North Carolina, since 2018, there has also been a notable amount of news coverage of labor unrest,

with 67% of the new reports concentrating in 2018-2023. For North Carolina, 2023 was the year that had the largest number of articles appeared in news outlets. In both locations, the first few four-five years had relatively low frequency of labor unrest in news articles, compared to the comparison to the most recent years.

Manchester experiences their first labor peak in 2017. It is a year where the news reports on labor unrest is heavily centered on called off strike due to a terror attack at an Ariana Grande concert. The rail strike suspended strike action on Merseyrail, Northern Rail and Southern Rail (Crawley Observer, 2017). Another article detailed a Virgin Tail workers plan to strike over Christmas and New Year. A vote was held to decide what action would the collective take. 1,300 voted in support of walking out of the 1,400 workers who voted (Cox, 2017). During the second and most pronounced peak of labor articles in 2022, the subject matter is primarily future and active rail strikes. Although there were several articles that were not concerned with rail strikes – such as NHS, various unionization attempts, and teacher protests – the impact of rail strikes in Manchester was still pronounced in 2022. It is important to remember that these rail strikes in Manchester have significantly impacted many businesses across various sectors. These strikes regularly disrupted business operations due to the uncertainty of transportation availability, as well as supply chains and construction projects, which suffered from delays in transporting goods and labor. Additionally, it is worth noting that the Manchester-North Carolina Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) occurred in July 2022, during this major peak in labor unrest. At that time, in 2022, North Carolina exhibited a very low level of labor unrest, making it seem like a favorable location for relocating some businesses as implied in Hypothesis 1.

A closer examination of the pattern of labor unrest in North Carolina reveals that the trend of labor unrest is very similar to that of Manchester, albeit with a lower frequency and with a time

delay. North Carolina experienced a first peak in the data sample in 2018. These articles are primarily about North Carolina teachers warning and then executing a strike with one article being about North Carolina poll workers who had come under scrutiny. The articles were specifically regarding a string of protests and a one major demonstration in May 2018. These informational articles detail the events that surround the ultimate 72,000 students who were out of school because of school closures on May 16<sup>th</sup>. The participation of roughly 2,000 teachers was the cause of this closure. In some articles, it is discussed as the 'Arab Springs' of North Carolina Education (Strauss, 2018; Elk, 2018).

In discussing the valleys in the frequency of labor articles in North Carolina and Manchester, I would also like to highlight the years where both datasets simultaneously reach their lowest points. Closely, Manchester and North Carolina in 2016 and 2021 experience a valley in terms of labor articles. These two years both experience lows right before a major peak of labor articles. This is interesting because this level of volatility in this scenario could potentially be used as an indicator for a larger amount of labor unrest articles in the following year.

Overall, these findings broadly support the claim in Hypothesis 1 that there has been a rapid increase in labor unrest in both Manchester and North Carolina in recent years, marking a significant deviation from previous decades, which were characterized by low levels of labor unrest. This trend of concentrated years of labor unrest in recent years lends credibility to labor unrest in Manchester and in North Carolina both being on the rise in the last 10 years. Additionally, during these intense years of labor unrest articles being covered, we can also identify that in the peak years that articles in Manchester and North Carolina are being released, the articles in Manchester are reaching peaks that are more pronounced than those of North Carolina. According to the observed frequencies, there are 77 Manchester related labor unrest articles (85, if counting

for the multiple and indirect mentions) and 60 North Carolina related labor unrest articles (70, if counting for the multiple and indirect mentions). As evident in Figure 3, in North Carolina the frequency of labor unrest is slightly lower and slightly later than Manchester. This is a significant finding because it also lends credibility to Hypothesis 1 that states more labor unrest is occurring in Manchester than it is in North Carolina. However, these differences must not be exaggerated as trends are still somewhat similar to each other.

Of course, there may be a discrepancy between the news reports and the actual patterning of labor unrest. The legal-political structures that suppress labor organizing, mentioned in Hypothesis 1, might also contribute to the lack of news coverage of labor unrest especially in North Carolina. In the trend of articles, up until 2023, all of the articles of the North Carolina sample fall under the frequency of 10 articles in any given year. For the first time in the sample of 10 years, that pattern is broken in 2023. Firstly, it is possible that North Carolina politically and legally has become more labor friendly over the course of the last 10 years. Secondly, it is possible that the legal and political structure has maintained its hostility of workers, but in spite of this, labor unrest is occurring more frequently because the political and legal framework is unsupportive of utilizing more bureaucratic means of communicating the needs of those in protest. In the following sections, I will present the results of the content analysis to explain how these instances of labor unrest news articles have been discussed by the news outlets to better contextualize this relationship.

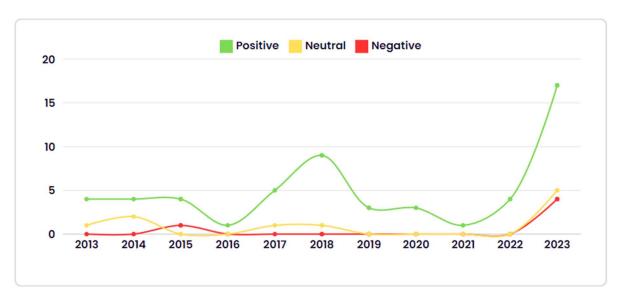
#### **Content Analysis of Labor Unrest in the Media**

News reports about labor unrest North Carolina (n=70) include 55 positive, 10 negative, and 5 neutral/informational North Carolina articles from 2013-2023. In the year 2023 with the highest volume of articles, there were 26 articles, 17 of which were identified as positive, 5 that

were identified as informational/neutral, and 4 that were identified as negative. In both Manchester, U.K., and North Carolina, U.S., there are peaks of labor discussion in the news, and there are two specific spikes of labor mentioned that happen in Manchester that are followed by the increases in labor unrest documentation in North Carolina. I believe that this is relevant for two reasons. One is a confirmation that many of the circumstances workers exist under in these two places are similar. Secondly, while both conditions may become more stressful around the same time, the documented experiences of workers in Manchester's labor seem to have been present before the stressful period of North Carolinian labor unrest.

Figure 5: North Carolina Labor Articles From 2013-2023.

## **North Carolina Labor Articles**

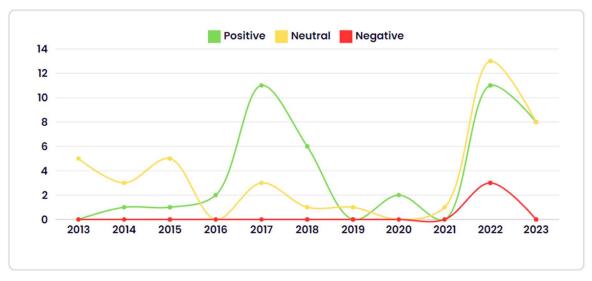


Manchester's labor articles sample (n=85) has two years that reflect significantly on the sample for neutral articles and three for positive articles. In 2017, there were a total of 6 neutral and informational articles and 11 positive labor articles. In 2022, there were 11 positive labor articles, 13 neutral and informational articles and 5 negative labor articles. These articles in both

locations are largely about active strikes and either suppress in some capacity support for these strikes or give more context to the community as to what to expect during strike days.

Figure 6: Manchester Labor Articles From 2013-2023.

# Manchester Labor Articles



#### Positive Portrayal of Labor Unrest

In North Carolina, the amount of positive coverage of labor unrest is certainly the most common category of amongst the three. This is commonly done by interviewing and centering workers in these particular stories. This is important to highlight because some of these articles criticize the same demographic of people that are amongst those being praised in pro-business articles. An example of this is in a quote from a Postal Union Spokesperson, Sally Davidow, was featured in a 2015 Charlotte Observer article saying, "There are people out there who want to privatize the Postal Service, so they're starving it of funds and driving down service so that the profitable routes can be picked off by private businesses who stand to make a buck" (Carson, 2015). This is also seen in articles acknowledging struggle in the Greater Manchester area where

the focus is often on the wellbeing of workers that shed light on why detesting these circumstances is so important (Molloy & Davies, 2023). Similarly, in 2017, in the University Wire published a story that noted a labor union demonstration that took place outside of the Democratic National Convention that was being held in the state (Ukani, 2017). In doing so, the article highlighted that the Democratic Party previously relied on the political support of unions, but today, can confidently host their convention here while also boasting equally anti-union positions similar to conservatives. In this same theme, this is similar criticisms of conservatives that believe labor struggle is at opposition with their political progress (Jones, 2022).

What is seen also in these articles is an amplification of demands. In 2018, the Triangle Tribune released an article that cited several workers and organizers who were demanding a Workers Bill of Rights be adopted in Durham, North Carolina. This article, citing nine different workers and organizers, effectively echoed calls of these demands (Freeman, 2018). In 2020, the Durham City Council would later create a Workers' Right's Commission that went on to draft the Workers Bill of Rights (Durham City Council 2020).

Figure 7: A Photo of Protesting Teachers in Manchester.



Source: Molloy and Davies (2023).

In the Greater Manchester area, positive news articles were typically in celebration of workers wins or the ending of a strike. Often, the end of a strike is exciting for the public because it means that as the intentional disruptions ends, they can resume their lives more comfortably. However, there are also news stories of sympathy strikes with US workers, highlighting the struggles people face within the cost-of-living crisis and by also lending credibility to the potential longevity of the unrest if demands are not met. Additionally, in these articles, there are typically quotes from workers or union organizers. One of the articles identified as positive, discussed the potential risk and safety concern that could arise from ignoring labor demands, to which the UK Defense Secretary Ben Wallace responded as this being false (Cyprus Mail, 2022). This is not unusual to see. It is of course, common place for these conversations to take place in a very public forum that also includes citizens.

#### Neutral and Informative Portrayal of Labor Unrest

In both locations, these articles are incredibly helpful for the public because of the nature of the articles. In Manchester, the articles in this neutral and informative category are often used to warn the public of delays, changes to operations in specific sectors, days of strikes or advice on how to avoid being directly impacted (Bowman, 2022). This is excruciatingly helpful because it ensures that while protesting and striking is disruptive, it aids in making it clear to the public that the strikes are not taking place in order to punish them, but rather to apply pressure on employers. In North Carolina, these articles are typically about union wins, honoring labor history in the state, or giving context to the North Carolina's "business friendly" labor market. An example of this would be when a Missouri article cited North Carolina as having one of the lowest union memberships in the country and connected that to union busting, low wages and lack of accountability (St. Joseph News, 2023).

Figure 8: Hull Train at a station.



Source: Bowman, J. (2022).

It is important to also discuss here that in news involving Manchester, there is a healthy amount of media that focuses on delivering clear information to readers that are informational. Given the complex differences between the two labor markets, cultural differences and broader flows of labor; it is to be expected that this looks differently in these places. I understand this is the case because a significant amount of the United States has no right to strike, which makes collective bargaining difficult. Which is of course why there are no frequent publication of strike dates coming out of the US. On the antithesis, even with the New Service Minimums in the UK, it has still proven to be much more manageable to strike, bargain as a collective and maintain while doing so.

#### Negative Portrayal of Labor Unrest

This category was the smallest, with a total of eight articles being identified as negative of the 150 articles. All eight identify unions as ineffective, threatening or money hungry entities. This category being the smallest is clarifying to eliminating that either context of labor unrest is privy to painting workers in an intentionally negative light. One short Manchester article encouraged the automation of industries in order to avoid having to meet demands of striking workers (Steele, 2022). This article captures a specific sentiment that drives the innovation of businesses in a way that undermines the employees. It is a historical feature of capitalism that utilizes technology to advance the bourgeois class economically. This call for automation is comparable to adaption of the steam powered mill created in Manchester, U.K.and the of Henry Ford's assembly line in the U.S.

#### **Content Analysis of Businesses in the Media**

#### Positive Portrayal of Businesses

The articles noted in this section identify businesses in a positive light. This often includes praise of a recent relocation to the area, awards and grants issued to small businesses. However, it is expensive to businesses banning together in order to detest legislation and to uplift community members. Frequently, North Carolina businesses are being represented alongside citizens in a way that seem to humanize them (U.S. Newswire, 2015). I would like to note that only one of these articles were featured here because they provided a better work environment, improved wages or competitive benefits for the individuals that worked for these businesses. This article particularly was about Manchester businesses agreeing to ban zero-hour contracts. While businesses may be the doing these things, it is not why the businesses were receiving recognition. As mentioned at the beginning of this section, the positive portrayal of businesses often come with businesses provide benefits to the community in a way a government would be expected to do.

#### Neutral or Informative Portrayal of Businesses

The articles in this section are regarded as informational or without stance. They document that something happened that was relevant to either North Carolina or Manchester. This is inclusive of the documentation of conferences and businesses vetting the territory as a particular home. Conferences are relevant to identify because it signifies that for some reason, groups of people gather there in order to reaffirm their commitment to a particular cause while also identifying that there is something particularly unifying by the community. Secondly, businesses vetting out North Carolina or Manchester as a potential business location or relocation is also important to take note of.

The informational category is also used to document the health of a business or business community in a neutral way. Businesses are used as a means of measuring the health of an economy. Being made aware of the economic status of key local or global businesses give more insight to the local economic forecast of the location. This is important because it allows readers to identify what the businesses are doing in their respective communities. This is significant because these two locations are intentional hubs for businesses. As businesses come to the area, that is generally information that should be documented. Similarly, when businesses leave the area, having this documented is also important because it gives people the opportunity to be actively engaged and informed with the happenings of their community.

#### Negative Portrayal of Businesses

The negative news coverage of businesses, similar to that of labor, was extremely low. However, if you examine the nature of the articles, you will find that they exclusively deal with taking advantage of individual workers and putting entire communities at risk. Let us look at this news article as an example:

"The court also ordered P&W to pay restitution in the amount of \$21,373,143.38 for losses incurred by Colonial Oil and International Paper as a result of the defendants' mishandling of used oil contaminated with PCBs that led to widespread contamination and millions of dollars in clean-up costs. P&W was also ordered to serve a five-year term of probation and to take remedial action to address the environmental contamination at its facility and other leased property in eastern North

Carolina, including but not limited to, the proper treatment and disposal of PCB-contaminated waste oil (M2 Presswire, 2017)."<sup>4</sup>

Articles like these identify a compelling reality, that businesses have no initiative not to harm residents. The restitution for this crime is largely within the organization's financial capabilities. The five-year probationary term is also quite a forgiving punishment for an entity that has just been found poising local residents and wildlife. A separate article detailed an account of intentional negligence. A businesswoman was caught selling skin-lightening products with known impacts skin damage was seized from her possession (M2 Presswire, 2017). The outcome of this discovery was that that businesswoman Meg Chuks was ordered to pay roughly £2,400. This amount hardly feels relevant. The importance here still lies in the affordability associated with businesses committing a crimes.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> North Carolina Recycling Business and Owner Sentenced to Unlawful Handling of PCB-Contaminated Oil, Tax Violations, and False Statements, available at: <a href="https://www-proquest-com.libproxy.uncg.edu/docview/1545378939?accountid=14604&sourcetype=Wire%20Feeds">https://www-proquest-com.libproxy.uncg.edu/docview/1545378939?accountid=14604&sourcetype=Wire%20Feeds</a>

Table 2: Frequencies of News Reports about Business Environment, Positive, Neutral and Negative, Manchester & North Carolina.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	2013	6	4.1	4.1	4.1
	2014	13	8.9	8.9	13.0
	2015	21	14.4	14.4	27.4
	2016	23	15.8	15.8	43.2
	2017	16	11.0	11.0	54.1
	2018	15	10.3	10.3	64.4
	2019	6	4.1	4.1	68.5
	2020	8	5,5	5.5	74.0
	2021	12	8.2	8.2	82.2
	2022	9	6.2	6.2	88.4
	2023	17	11.6	11.6	100.0
	Total	146	100.0	100.0	

When identifying the frequency of business articles from both Manchester and North Carolina, there are a few years where businesses are identified the most within the sample and that is during 2015, 2016 and 2023. These three years are when 41.8% of the sample was published. Noting this does not necessarily make these years the best for business but it does make those years the most discussion that was had regarding business.

Merging the amount of business articles in Manchester and North Carolina confirms that, overwhelmingly, the discussion of these establishments is quite positive in nature. While both positive and neutral articles are a strong representation of these articles, it was only 5.5% likely to come across a negative business article in a sample of 146 total articles.

Table 3: Content Distribution of Businesses Articles, Manchester and North Carolina

Manchester	Count	60	11	2	73
	0/0	82.2%	15.1%	2.7%	100.0%
North	Count	53	14	6	73

	Carolina	%	72.6%	19.2%	8.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	113	25	8	146
		0/0	77.4%	17.6%	5.5%	100.0%

Moreover, to best understand the breakdown of these articles, I separated them by location and category. Of the articles sourced from Manchester, they were 82.2% likely to be positive; and those from North Carolina, 72.6% are positive. However, of those articles that were negative, the negative article was 3 times more likely to be from North Carolina. However, it is worth noting that in this regard, it is difficult to make a general and applicable statement regarding a sector that is representationally, very small.

#### CHAPTER VI: CONCLUSION

In this research project, I was able to make some conclusions about the nature of the contemporary landscape of the North Carolina and Manchester labor landscape. Firstly, regarding Hypothesis 1 the research outcomes of this sample support that in the last decade, labor unrest in Manchester has been on a strong rise. Additionally, the volume of articles suggest that it is also of strong public interest. The labor articles from Manchester and North Carolina support this hypothesis because Manchester experienced more pronounced peaks of labor unrest during years where high unrest occurs in both locations. In addition to this, it is possible that this suppression is due to the legal framework in North Carolina that aids in suppressing demonstrations of labor unrest. Hypothesis 2 is also partly supported by the overwhelmingly positive position of business-friendly articles that bring a positive light to the North Carolinian business landscape. Thus, the claim that we might be experiencing a labor-unrest driven spatial fix is very plausible on the basis that the outcomes of Hypothesis 1 and Hypothesis 2, suggesting the possibility of a Core-to-Core spatial fix.

However, the research findings also point out to several limitations of this strategy. First and foremost, the labor unrest in North Carolina also seems to be rapidly rising, which may limit the ability of the capital to relocate from Manchester to North Carolina if it really wants to escape labor militancy in Manchester. Secondly, content analysis results showed that labor related news articles used a positive tone in North Carolina, helping reproduce North-Carolina's business friendly media image, in terms of the business articles, there was no significant difference between Manchester and North Carolina as well.

As a whole, I have argued that the labor landscape from 2013 – 2023 has changed in a way where at the very least, political figures and news coverage has to be calculated and considerate of

the needs of workers, even if they will not support them in practice. The relationship between these two countries and these two specific boundaries should be monitored for the next decade in order to best capture the developing relationship between these two workers moving forward and also to best understand their historical reliance on one another.

#### **Discussion**

When monitoring the state of our interconnected labor and business markets, a few significant conversations should be pursued with deep consideration. As researchers have for several centuries, I look forward to monitoring and witnessing this relationship. One of the primary pieces that I think should be considered in this conversation is that there are other ways to organize these articles. In the content analysis section of thesis, the focus was identifying positive, negative, and neutral content on labor and business activity. However, there is another lens that the content of these articles can be identified and understood through. This is an additional category that should be considered by scholars. This category is simply the journalists who don't know what to make of it all. The journalists that do not or cannot fully flesh out how we as a society have gotten to this moment. What I appreciate about this category is that it affirms that something is happening in the world of labor that is not only unexpected, it is unprecedented. There are several articles that discuss how this current labor movement seemingly came from nowhere. One article from the Trade Journal accounts the exciting emerging landscape of labor militancy.

"The union is simultaneously tapping into and feeding a rising assertiveness in the US labour movement, which has seen union membership dwindle for two generationsThe aspirations extend beyond the auto industry. Fain speaks about declining welfare among working people broadly. The union has used its strike against the carmakers to highlight fights in other industries, from healthcare to

gambling to airlines. The UAW is encouraging unions across the US, in every sector, to time their contract expiration dates to the UAW's; in the US, most union contracts contain clauses that only allow workers to strike when the contract expires. By telling other unions to line up their contract expiration dates with the UAW's, the autoworkers' union is trying to lay the groundwork for sweeping industrial action that could extend beyond the auto industry (Bushey & Taylor, 2023)"<sup>5</sup>

In addition to this, there is an intersecting space in recent articles that are filled with mixed emotions that mirror some concerns of citizens but also is what I argue to be critical of the labor movement. While certainly being positive about the actions of the UAW these sorts of articles also are concerned about the possibility of future labor efforts in a manner that mimics defeatism as a tool of the establishment but also lends legitimacy to the feelings of Americans who feel positively about the success of workers but is also concerned about the possibility that this may be a short-lived movement. Here, I think we should also discuss how the public and the media interact frequently in a way that brings forth mixed emotions and concerns in a way that legitimizes these conflicting feelings.

In regards to Greater Manchester being interested in intentionally growing a relationship with North Carolina for the expansion and profit opportunities in the region, this could all still be a flourishing relationship. However, North Carolina is not the location that Manchester perceived it to be. Our business-friendly reputation is certainly still present, but our labor landscape is rapidly

 $<sup>^5</sup>$  The unexpected revival of America's trade unions. \textit{FT.Com,} Available at: https://login.libproxy.uncg.edu/login?url=https://www-proquest-com.libproxy.uncg.edu/trade-journals/unexpected-revival-america-s-trade-unions/docview/2900854642/se-2

evolving. The recent years of high labor unrest articles in the context of the last 10 years are not in alignment with one another. Considering the breaking of this trend, it is possible that in the coming years labor unrest in North Carolina could become stronger. While this MOU may be intact, these findings still suggest that North Carolina's labor sector is becoming more vigilant.

In beyond the framing of these articles, it is also important to be able to identify the circumstances of this Core-to-Core spatial fix. While it seems evident that these two locations have a historical and contemporary relationship, this relationship is sustained because it is beneficial for those with political and social power and detrimental for those without it. This is important to contextualize as a periphery relationship (Berend, 2011) and we could be witnessing some variation of this. As we have established with the Core-to-Core spatial fix, we could be seeing the Manchester and North Carolina workers being viewed here as peripheries.

#### Limitations

This research project comes with its own fixed limitations that cannot be separated from the essence of the sociological questions. The mere timing of this observation is a victim of its own incompleteness. This must be studied for the next several years to identify if these two countries and their respective businesses are relying on each other to maximize profits at the expense of laborers. It is possible that we will not see any relocation of labor that is significant in the next decade. In Manchester, England, and North Carolina, the United States of America, a rapidly changing political landscape changes the comparison of these two territories. An escalated liquidation of labor rights has taken hold of both places. Like any moment in time, it is a product of historic positionalities and also a development of future ones.

It important to note that the information available in the used databases are not exhaustive of every single article published under these parameters. These are a sample of the thousands of articles published within the designated time span.

Additionally, there are several other mediums on the rise of being popular means of transferring information. More specifically, social media networks. This study deals only with new sources of information, which is not inclusive of these mass sources of communication. This alone would add an additional layer of nuance and tracking of information spread that I do believe would be helpful and insightful in the future.

Lastly, while being carefully compared and integrated into the research, this study will always be from the perspective of an American, who despite having a competent understanding of the United Kingdom's political structure, history and labor landscape; is still viewing it all from the American lens. I encourage those interested in addressing this sociological question, to do so as they are capable.

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### APPENDIX A: LIST OF LABOR ARTICLES

	Title	pubtitle	year	Location
1	North Carolina's Deep Cut to Jobless Benefits Takes Effect Amid a Storm of Protest	New York Times (1923-)	2013	1.00
2	Manchester Airport Cleaners to Strike Again	Targeted News Service	2013	2.00
3	North Carolina ranks No. 4 in the unemployment rate for blacks	Free Press / Jones Post	2013	1.00
4	In North Carolina, 'Moral Mondays' A Day For Protest	Weekend All Things Considered	2013	1.00
5	North Carolina protests show people still stand for justice	Philadelphia Tribune	2013	1.00
6	FIREFIGHTERS PACT RAISES PAY, BROADENS DRUG TESTING: CONTRACT RUNS THROUGH 2016; MANCHESTER ADMINISTRATORS, UNION OFFICIALS SATISFIED WITH NEGOTIATION PROCESS	Hartford Courant	2013	2.00
7	North Carolina's Deep Cut to Jobless Benefits Takes Effect Amid a Storm of Protest: [National Desk]	New York Times	2013	1.00
8	Union leader: Mandate local labor for West Manchester Mall project (column)	York Daily Record	2013	2.00
9	Contract reality; Is it hitting Manchester unions?	The Union Leader	2013	2.00
10	Docks chaos as strikers bring work to standstill: SARAH WALTERS looks back at what was making the news in Manchester 100 years ago	Manchester Evening News	2013	2.00
11	Union in North Carolina welcomes college athletes	Bozeman Daily Chronicle	2014	1.00
12	Firestorm erupts over teacher's angry e-mail to legislators about low pay: Response from a legislator who attacks the teachers union even though there isn't one in North Carolina angers teachers.	Washington Post – Blogs	2014	1.00

13	Early indications from North Carolina's cuts in unemployment benefits show employment rising	Washington Examiner	2014	1.00
14	Pair from Britain to visit North Carolina: Toledo FLOC leader Velasquez invites Parliament officials	The Blade	2014	1.00
15	Fewer Jobless Benefits, More Jobs; North Carolina offers a market test of incentives to workor not.	Wall Street Journal (Online)	2014	1.00
16	Unions are in fact allowed in North Carolina	Asheville Citizen - Times	2014	1.00
17	FairPoint union workers picket in Manchester, other locations	The Union Leader	2014	2.00
18	Thousands out in 'biggest strike in living memory': Teachers, firefighters, civil servants, library and court staff protest	Manchester Evening News	2014	2.00
19	Councils must not privatise services: John Clegg of Unite union and Greater Manchester Stop G4S Campaign	Manchester Evening News	2014	2.00
20	Union pledges talks after JD Williams outsourcing decision: Usdaw says it will fight to protect workers' terms after Manchester firm appointed Serco to run operations."We are in meetings with our members and stand ready to support them."	Manchester Evening News	2014	2.00
21	Union contract expires this week for North Carolina's postal workers	The Triangle Tribune	2015	1.00
22	North Carolina workers pay price for 'gig economy'	The Charlotte Post	2015	1.00
23	Waiting game starts with contract ending for North Carolina's postal workers	https://login.libpr oxy.uncg.edu/login ?url=https://www. proquest.com/new spapers/waiting- game-starts-		1.00
24	North Carolina's step-by-step war on public education: The war has been fought with underfunded budgets, tactical strikes against public school teachers, changes in how charter schools operate and how tax dollars can go to private or religious schools, and the erosion of the University of North Carolina.	Washington Post – Blogs	2015	1.00

25	·	Targeted News Service	2015	1.00
26	Lawyers set to strike in protest at 'devastating' legal aid cuts	The Independent	2015	2.00
27	8	Manchester Evening News	2015	2.00
28	Staff at University of Manchester Vote to Strike Over Jobs Row	Targeted News Service	2015	2.00
29	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	Targeted News Service	2015	2.00
30		Huddersfield Daily Examiner	2015	2.00
31	March and rally against austerity and the Trade Union Bill in Manchester	M2 Presswire	2015	2.00
32		Washington Post – Blogs	2016	1.00
33	Hundreds of Manchester Bus Drivers to Strike in Dispute Over Collective Bargaining Breaches	Targeted News Service	2016	2.00
34	Solid Support for Manchester Bus Strike Over Company's Broken Promises	Targeted News Service	2016	2.00
35	Toledo-based FLOC sues North Carolina over anti-union farm law	TCA Regional News	2017	1.00
36	11 0 0	Targeted News Service	2017	1.00
37	US labor blasts North Carolina law targeting farm unions: USA LABOR	EFE News Service	2017	1.00
38	Reduction in foreign competition to boost North Carolina workers' wages	The Triangle Tribune	2017	1.00
39	Two School Districts Plan to Close for 'Day Without a Woman' Strike; Districts in North Carolina, Virginia cite safety concerns as large percent of employees ask for day off	Wall Street Journal (Online)	2017	1.00

40	Union calls off Northern Rail strike after Manchester attack	Sunderland Echo	2017	2.00
41	Southern strike suspended after Manchester attack	Hastings and St. Leonards Observer	2017	2.00
42	manchester: Police Union Agrees To Proposed Benefits Change	Hartford Courant	2017	2.00
43	Rail strikes called off following Manchester terror attack	Press Association	2017	2.00
44	Southern strike suspended after Manchester attack	Crawley Observer	2017	2.00
45	Southern strike suspended after Manchester attack	Chichester Observer	2017	2.00
46	Bus drivers target 'Mad Friday' in festive strikes: arriva north west and first manchester staff plan series of 24- hour christmas walkouts	Manchester Evening News	2017	2.00
47	Rail users to be hit by new strike: walkout affects train services from liverpool to manchester	Liverpool Echo	2017	2.00
48	Manchester University staff vote to strike over academic job cuts	The Guardian (Online)	2017	2.00
49	Union calls off Northern Rail strike after Manchester attack	Peterlee Mail	2017	2.00
50	Southern strike suspended after Manchester attack	Sussex Express	2017	2.00
51	Southern Rail criticised for 'insensitive' response to strike decision after Manchester bombing	The News	2017	2.00
52	Virgin train strike could hit travellers over Christmas: manchester to london service to be affected	Manchester Evening News	2017	2.00
53	Union calls off Northern Rail strike after Manchester attack	Hartlepool Mail	2017	2.00
54	Right-To-Work Is Wronging Workers	Wire Feeds	2017	1.00
55	Could North Carolina's teachers be next to strike? Here's the mess they're in.: Conditions have been deteriorating for educators in the state for years and they are tired of it.	Washington Post – Blogs	- 2018	1.00
56	North Carolina school districts closing for teacher protest	The Triangle Tribune	2018	1.00

57	North Carolina teachers join wave of strikes with one-day walkout	The Guardian (Online)	2018	1.00
58	North Carolina Teachers Just Closed Schools With A Massive Protest: <a href="http://www.w3.org/2002/08/xhtml/xhtml1-strict.xsd">http://www.w3.org/2002/08/xhtml/xhtml1-strict.xsd</a> /> <title></title> <body>About a million public school students were out of the classroom.</body>	HuffPost	2018	1.00
59	North Carolina Teachers Protest, Exposing a Rural-Urban Divide; Districts cancel classes affecting about one million students as teachers march in capital for more state funding		2018	1.00
60	Police Unions Sue, Saying Solicitor Owes \$65,000; West Hartford, Manchester	Hartford Courant	2018	2.00
61	North Carolina Teachers Join Walkout Movement: [National Desk]	New York Times	2018	1.00
62	Worker in Disputed North Carolina Race Had Been Investigated for Fraud Before: [National Desk]	New York Times	2018	1.00
63	North Carolina school districts closing next week for teacher protest	Charleston Gazette - Mail	2018	1.00
64	Northern rail strikes: Greater Manchester and Liverpool mayors call for end to RMT walkouts	The Independent (Online)	2018	2.00
65	Militant union blocks plan to put firemen on terror front line: After fierce criticism in Manchester atrocity inquiry	Mail on Sunday	2018	2.00
66	Northern Rail strike: How to get to Manchester Pride, Leeds festival and Creamfields	The Independent (Online)	2018	2.00
67	This is how you can get to the Christmas Markets in Manchester during the rail strike	Lancashire Evening Post	2018	2.00
68	Security staff at Manchester airport threaten to strike - will your holiday be affected?	Express (Online)	2018	2.00
69	North Carolina school districts closing next week for teacher protest	Charleston Gazette - Mail	2018	1.00
70	Police Unions Sue, Saying Solicitor Owes \$65,000; West Hartford, Manchester	Hartford Courant	2018	2.00

71	In North Carolina, 20,000 skip school as teachers strike movement swells	The Guardian (Online)	2018	1.00
72	Thousands of North and South Carolina teachers are protesting but not just for the reasons you might think	CNN Wire Service	2019	1.00
73	Performance pay' drove Denver teachers to strike and it is failing in other districts, too. A North Carolina teacher explains why it doesn't work.	The Washington Post (Online)	2019	1.00
74	Julian Castro joins McDonald's strikers in North Carolina	National Post (Online)	2019	1.00
75	Pay-row strike grounds flights at Manchester	Manchester Evening News	2019	2.00
76	Decades after Klansmen killed 5 during protest, a North Carolina city's apology comes too late for some	CNN Wire Service	2020	1.00
77	North Carolina needs unions	University Wire	2020	1.00
78	North Carolina teachers' unions demand support for undocumented immigrants, more funding to reopen schools	Washington Examiner	2020	1.00
79	Manchester United to give 30% of pay to NHS, union continue talks	Iran Daily	2020	2.00
80	Strike Threat at Manchester Metropolitan University as In- Person Teaching to Resume Despite City's Tier 3 Status	Targeted News Service	2020	2.00
81	Healthcare workers protest vaccination mandate in North Carolina	Washington Examiner	2021	1.00
82	Sheffield NHS pay protest 'called off' after £10,000 fine issued in Manchester	The Star	2021	2.00
83	A voice found in unionizing	The Washington Post	2022	1.00
84	'Don't quit. Organize': Amazon union push spreads it wings after New York success	The Guardian (Online)	2022	1.00
85	The right says strikes are abusive and wicked. I say they have helped build our society	The Guardian	2022	2.00
86	Google lowered its salaries in North Carolina. Now workers are protesting.	The Washington Post (Online)	2022	1.00

87	Rail strikes, staff shortages and engineering works causing train cancellations today	The Independent (Online)	2022	2.00
88	Union threatens to sue Government as Border Force strikes fail to leave their mark	Telegraph.co.uk	2022	2.00
89	Who's on strike today? Every date of every UK walkout in 2022 and 2023	The Independent (Online)	2022	2.00
90	Union attacked for 'pure propaganda' after saying borders are less secure during strikes	Telegraph.co.uk	2022	2.00
91	UK minister denies passport staff strike leaving borders exposed	Cyprus Mail	2022	2.00
92	Inflation warning on pay rises for strikers	News Letter	2022	2.00
93	Hard-working robots will see off scourge of strikes: Letters	Daily Express	2022	2.00
94	Union threat to sue as military cover thwarts border strike [Scot Region]	The Daily Telegraph	2022	2.00
95	No North Carolina teacher strike, despite calls for higher salaries, better working conditions	CNN Wire Service	2022	1.00
96	Will my train run during January rail strikes?	The Independent (Online)	2022	2.00
97	Minister lays down law to unions threatening 'strike' lasting months as: 'no magic wand'	Express (Online)	2022	2.00
98	Rail operator issues 'do not travel' warning: TRAIN SERVICES SET TO BE DISRUPTED BY STRIKE ACTION IN FIRST WEEK OF NEW YEAR	Hull Daily Mail	2022	2.00
99	Highways staff begin two-day strike in latest wave of action	Express and Star	2022	2.00
100	Strikes are sweeping away last vestiges of closed-shop Britain [Edition 2]	The Daily Telegraph	2022	2.00
101	Unite: Manchester Facing Prolonged Bin Strikes as Biffa Workers Back Strike Action in Pay Dispute	Targeted News Service	2022	2.00

103	Avanti's London-Manchester service hit by staff shortage: Operator blames unofficial strike action but union disputes this	The Sentinel	2022	2.00
104	Rallies across UK to protest against rising cost of living	The Business Times	2022	2.00
105	Burnham defies Starmer over picket lines: Manchester mayor attacks Labour leader on strikes while backing moves to nationalise utility firms	The Daily Telegraph	2022	2.00
106	Wigan union members join picket line protest for better pay deal	Wigan Today	2022	2.00
107	Can we get to Manchester airport despite rail strikes?	The Independent (Daily Edition)	2022	2.00
108	Poll finds just 25% of voters back protests	Mail on Sunday	2022	2.00
109	Tooting taxis and no Greggs queue: Manchester calm as rail strikes begin	The Guardian (Online)	2022	2.00
110	Amazon warehouse workers stage Black Friday strikes and protests around world	The Guardian	2022	2.00
111	NHS Crisis Deepens As Unite Ballots 1,000 Manchester And Lancashire Workers For Strike In Early 2023	Targeted News Service	2022	2.00
112	'Hands off my pension!' Furious protests erupt as thousands demand action from Truss	Express (Online)	2022	2.00
113	Rally in city is part of national protest	The Plymouth Evening Herald	2022	2.00
114	9.5% Of Missouri Workers Are Union Members, Below U.S. Average	St. Joseph News - Press	2023	1.00
115	Are there unionized Starbucks cafés in Asheville?	Asheville Citizen - Times	2023	1.00
116	PERSPECTIVES; Workers' best hope for heat protection: Unions; Hundreds have died from extreme temperatures, yet business lobbyists fight new rules	Los Angeles Times	2023	1.00
117	Public-Union Payouts Bleed Illinois Families	Wall Street Journal	2023	1.00
118	Daily Briefing: How a UAW strike would impact Americans	USA Today (Online)	2023	1.00

119	House Education Committee Chair Foxx Slams Workers United for Ignoring Inquiry on Ties to Union Organizer	Targeted News Service	2023	1.00
120	REI Co-op Boston workers vote to unionize as part of sweeping organizing effort at stores nationwide	Boston.com	2023	1.00
121	Ford demands secrecy as it preps salaried workers for blue-collar jobs if UAW strikes	USA Today (Online)	2023	1.00
122	Ford lays out plans to ready for strike: Salaried workers asked to perform blue-collar jobs	Courier - Journal	2023	1.00
123	Teachers Unions Drag Student Test Scores Even Lower	Targeted News Service	2023	1.00
124	House Education Committee Chair Foxx: Pro-Union NLRB New Rule is Un-American, Chips Away at Workers Rights	Targeted News Service	2023	1.00
125	UPS reaches contract with 340,000 unionized workers	Telegraph - Herald	2023	1.00
126	Ranking Member Cassidy Blasts DOL Policies Targeting Businesses, Encouraging Union Corruption	Targeted News Service	2023	1.00
127	United Kingdom: UK and North Carolina State hold second Working Group meeting	Asia News Monitor	2023	1.00
128	Grad students voted to unionize. How do their current benefits compare to those from other universities?	University Wire	2023	1.00
129	Leader of North Carolina protest seeks recommitment at 10 years	The Triangle Tribune	2023	1.00
130	More unions coming?: Asheville cocktail bar aims to set example for local workers' rights	Asheville Citizen - Times	2023	1.00
131	Auto Workers Walkout Looms As Biden Courts Union Votes; GOP Presidential Candidates Attend New Hampshire Picnic; Poll: Trump Trounces Rivals, Holds 46-Point Lead; Murderer Evades Capture For Fifth Day, PA Community On Edge; Roads Begin To Reopen For Tens Of Thousands Of Burning Man Attendees Trapped For A Third Day In Nevada Desert; Russia Considers Joint Military Exercises With North Korea; China Proposes Screen Time Limit For Children & ET	The Lead With Jake Tapper	2023	1.00
132	N.C. Public Service Workers Union Issues Public Comment to Labor Dept.	Targeted News Service	2023	1.00

133	"This is psychological warfare': Starbucks workers allege anti-union firings	The Guardian (Online)	2023	1.00
134	Here's why the US labor movement is so popular but union membership is dwindling	USA Today (Online)	2023	1.00
135	Looking back at our Labor Day history: Deputies killed striking mill workers in 1929	Asheville Citizen - Times	2023	1.00
136	Unions seek gains in hostile territory: 'If you change the South, you change America'	Politico	2023	1.00
137	Governor should help higher-ed faculty, grad students unionize	The Baltimore Sun	2023	1.00
138	CWA Union Exposes Unlawful Retaliation by Yadkin Valley Telecoms Provider Zirrus	Targeted News Service	2023	1.00
139	What happened to the US labor movement?: Data shows union numbers are down	USA TODAY	2023	1.00
140	Unite: Saica Paper Workers in Manchester to Strike in Pay Dispute	Targeted News Service	2023	2.00
141	Manchester tram workers to strike: TRANSPORT [Scot Region]		2023	2.00
142	People urged to join protest against strike law	Manchester Evening News	2023	2.00
143	Dozens of trials postponed at Manchester Crown Square crown court during national barristers' strike	Wigan Today	2023	2.00
144	British actors will protest in support of US actors on strike	Express (Online)	2023	2.00
145	'It's for the future': NHS doctors in Manchester striking for pay that 'keeps workforce'	The Guardian (Online)	2023	2.00
146	Brit actors will protest to support US actors' strike	Daily Express	2023	2.00
147	FA Cup final chaos as sports fans face train strikes that will delay Manchester rivals	Express (Online)	2023	2.00
148	Manchester airport staff cancel strike vote after pay deal	The Daily Telegraph	2023	2.00
149	Cup final chaos as train strike delays Manchester rivals	Daily Express	2023	2.00

150	'I want to cry, this is a mountain': PROTESTING TEACHERS REVEAL WHY THEY ARE WALKING OUT	Manchester Evening News	2023	2.00
151	Manchester tram workers to strike: TRANSPORT	I News	2023	2.00
152	Rail strikes announced for day of all-Manchester FA Cup final in capital	Journal	2023	2.00
153	Trailblazer undaunted by Derby baptism of fire is living his dream: INTERVIEW Brian Finch, Britain's first black racecourse chairman, is prepared for protesters and strikes at Epsom on Saturday	The Sunday Telegraph	2023	2.00
154	Strikes, gloomy weather and Manchester City winning the league	Daily Express	2023	2.00
155	First Manchester and GMAT Bus Strikes Off After Unite Pay Victories	Targeted News Service	2023	2.00
Total	N=155	155	155	155

## APPENDIX B: LIST OF BUSINESS ARTICLES

	Title	pubtitle	year	Loc
1	North Carolina Dems: Tillis Wants To Run	Targeted News	2013	North
	On His Record, But Business Leaders Warn Otherwise	Service		Carolina
2	UK Trade and Investment and Manchester	Emirates News	2013	Manchester
	Business School showcase UK training expertise	Agency (WAM)		
3	UK Trade and Investment and Manchester	Emirates News	2013	Manchester
	Business School showcase UK training expertise	Agency (WAM)		
4	Manchester's surge in urban dwellers a boon for business	FT.com	2013	Manchester
5	Manchester's all set for a new industrial revolution: Speaking in the city, Chancellor George Osborne commends the links business leaders have forged with China	Manchester Evening News	2013	Manchester
6	Manchester bid to take over Chicago airport: Parent company eyes swoop on American hubNew move follows Pounds 1.5bn Stansted deal	Manchester Evening News	2013	Manchester
7	North Carolina Recycling Business and Owner Sentenced to Unlawful Handling of PCB-Contaminated Oil, Tax Violations, and False Statements	M2 Presswire	2014	North Carolina
8	Time Warner Cable Business Class Launches "Small Business, Big Impact" Contest for Charlotte, North Carolina	Business Wire	2014	North Carolina
9	KCCI to participate in Pakistan-UK Business Festival in Manchester	The Financial Daily	2014	Manchester
10	easyjet to boost presence in city: Low-cost carrier to base ninth aircraft at Manchester Airport as it aims to attract more business customers.	Manchester Evening News	2014	Manchester

11	we're witnessing the rebirth of wythenshawe: Millions of pounds have been pumped into what was one of the country's most deprived areasInvestment means business, education and transport links are all improving in Manchester'garden city'.	Manchester Evening News	2014	Manchester
12	we brewed up great business in our flat: Former Manchester University students'craft beers are being sold across the country.	Manchester Evening News	2014	Manchester
13	Big business trying to take over society: Stephen Pennells of Manchester World Development Movement	Manchester Evening News	2014	Manchester
14	Why business ethics are under the spotlight: In association with Manchester Business School Companies are increasingly under pressure to deliver their profits responsibly says Prof Chris Bones	The Daily Telegraph	2014	Manchester
15	BREWERS TOASTING THE CRAFT BEER REVOLUTION: BEER HAS ALWAYS BEEN BIG BUSINESS IN THE REGION. IN THE FOURTH PART OF OUR MADE IN MANCHESTER SERIES, ALEX BELL TALKS TO THE PEOPLE BEHIND A NEW BREWING PHENOMENONMADE IN MANCHESTER	Manchester Evening News	2014	Manchester
16	Overseas visitors are critical of Manchester's attractions: Hard-hitting poll reveals an image overhaul is needed after poor reviews from tourists and businessmen.	Manchester Evening News	2014	Manchester
17	100 up as a ton of Manchester businesses get superconnected: Thanks to a new scheme administered to SMEs and entrepreneurs by Manchester City Council, many people are reaping the benefits of advanced internet connection speeds	Manchester Evening News	2014	Manchester

18	Manchester open for global business: Andrew Critchlow finds out how the 'capital of the North' caught the attention of the big hitters	The Sunday Telegraph	2014	
19	SHIELD TO BRING IN JOBS FOR NEW BASE: SECURITY COMPANY SET TO OPEN UP REGIONAL HEADQUARTERS IN MANCHESTER.	Manchester Evening News	2014	
20	U.S. Chamber, North Carolina Chamber Host Cybersecurity Conference for Businesses	Targeted News Service	2015	North Carolina
21	North Carolina Named One of America's Most Business-Friendly States in Leading Corporate Real Estate Study	Targeted News Service	2015	North Carolina
22	Networking leaders talk gig cities, broadband future in North Carolina: National representatives from Brookings Institute, U.S. Ignite, Gig.U and the N.C. Next Generation Network, NTIA, and local universities and businesses talk community broadband best practices at MCNC	PR Newswire	2015	North Carolina
23	Businesses, Labor and Industry Groups Form Coalition Demonstrating Strong Support for Atlantic Coast Pipeline: Representing millions of stakeholders, they 'stand up' for reliable energy, new jobs and cleaner air -; Broad range of supporters in Virginia, West Virginia and North Carolina found EnergySure	U.S. Newswire	2015	North Carolina
24	North Carolina, the Third Best State for Business, Continues to Drive Job Growth: CEOs appreciate North Carolina's low taxes and minimal business regulations	PR Newswire	2015	North Carolina
25	Debt-trap lending has no business in North Carolina	Herald Sun with Chapel Hill Herald	2015	North Carolina

26	Atlantic Coast Pipeline Estimated To Save Consumers, Businesses \$377 Million Annually In Energy Costs, Analysis Says: - Energy savings alone could fuel 2,200 new permanent jobs in Virginia, North Carolina	PR Newswire	2015	North Carolina
27	North Carolina Military Business Center celebrates 10 years	Daily News	2015	North Carolina
28	14,500 new businesses start up in the region: Manchester and Trafford are among the best areas for fledgling firms in UK in 2015.	Manchester Evening News	2015	Manchester
29	LJ Partnership secures Pounds 28m Manchester stake: BUSINESS BULLETIN	The Daily Telegraph	2015	Manchester
30	Manchester 'the place to do business'	Manchester Evening News	2015	Manchester
31	Firms join living wage revolution: Number of Greater Manchester businesses agreeing to pay at least Pounds 7.85 an hour is up from 16 to 96.	Manchester Evening News	2015	Manchester
32	migrants: woman with guts to tell the truth Migrant quotas dictated by EU? Never in 1,000 years, says May Pictures: BRUCE ADAMS: But Theresa May faces backlash from big business and the Left CONSERVATIVES IN MANCHESTER	Daily Mail	2015	Manchester
33	Global engineering company launches pre- apprenticeship in Greater Manchester: Doosan Babcock, recognised as a global leader in the power engineering industry, are recruiting 16 - 18 year olds to take part in an exciting pre-apprenticeship programme based at Bury College, opening doors to unlimited career opportunities in an ever-growing industry	Manchester Evening News	2015	Manchester

34	14,500 new businesses start up in the region: Manchester and Trafford are among the best areas for fledgling firms in UK in 2015.	Manchester Evening News	2015	Manchester
35	BUSINESS WISHLIST FOR 2015 BUDGET: GREATER MANCHESTER BUSINESS LEADERS CALL FOR TAX SYSTEM REFORMS AND BETTER INFRASTRUCTURE	Manchester Evening News	2015	Manchester
36	Rentalcars.com invests Pounds 2.7m in new Manchester city centre base: Company announced what was the biggest city centre office deal of the year in March, creating 200 jobs.	Manchester Evening News	2015	Manchester
37	Agents of change: Young people from deprived areas of London and Manchester are seizing the opportunity to develop business ideas that will beneft their local communities - in an initiative imported from Brazil's favelas.	Telegraph Magazine	2015	Manchester
38	Leaders call for better rail links between Hull and Manchester Airport: Civic leaders have launched a campaign to improve rail connections between Hull and Manchester Airport. Business Editor James Burton reports	Hull Daily Mail	2015	Manchester
39	Businesses in Manchester come out top for investing in their people	Manchester Evening News	2015	Manchester
40	Booming Manchester proves a manget for growing businesses: Latest city centre office take-up figures are highest recorded since 2001 and 55 per cent up on last year.	Manchester Evening News	2015	Manchester
41	3 U.S. Businesses Recognized for "Green" Pet and Animal Products: Small Businesses in New York, California and North Carolina Named 'Top Dogs.'	PR Newswire	2016	North Carolina

42	North Carolina Businesses, Residents Encouraged for Hurricane Matthew Disaster Loans Application	Targeted News Service	2016	North Carolina
43	SBA Offers Working Capital Loans to North Carolina Small Businesses	Targeted News Service	2016	North Carolina
44	Discovery Point Targets North Carolina for Further Expansion: Childcare Franchise Leader to Participate in Raleigh Franchise and Business Opportunities Expo	PR Newswire	2016	North Carolina
45	AT&T Expands Access to Gigabit Speeds to more Businesses in 20 North Carolina Markets: 1 Gigabit per Second Internet speeds are now available through AT&T Business Fiber	PR Newswire	2016	North Carolina
46	Stay Furnished Apartments is Making Business Travel in North Carolina More Comfortable with Locally Designed Custom Lounge Chairs: Luxury Corporate Housing Provider Advances Business Travel Accommodations with Homegrown Furniture Design	PR Newswire	2016	North Carolina
47	Women Entrepreneurs Host First-Ever Excelerate Experience Business Event in Raleigh-Durham, North Carolina	M2 Presswire	2016	North Carolina
48	Press Release: Scientific Games Wins North Carolina's Instant Game Business	Dow Jones Institutional News	2016	North Carolina
49	Business takes on politicians over gay rights: North Carolina is latest US flashpoint as Deutsche Bank freezes growth plans amid outrage over discriminatory laws	Financial Times	2016	North Carolina
50	North Carolina reels from business backlash to anti-LGBT law	The Guardian (Online)	2016	North Carolina
51	Tonight, in North Carolina, they are facing a business boycott over a law that critics consider anti-gay.	CBS Evening News	2016	North Carolina

52	DSCC: Senator Burr Thinks HB2 'Doesn't Discriminate' but North Carolina Businesses Disagree	Targeted News Service	2016	North Carolina
53	Business Leaders Speak Out Against North Carolina's Transgender Law; More than 90 executives signed letter to Gov. McCrory describing law as 'discriminatory'	Wall Street Journal (Online)	2016	North Carolina
54	Talking Points Memo: NBA, Businesses Denounce North Carolina Anti-Gay Bill	Talking Points Memo Blog	2016	North Carolina
55	Business is booming in Manchester: almost 1,800 new companies launch in 12 months making city uk's start-up capital	Manchester Evening News	2016	Manchester
56	IT expert celebrates record profit growth: the manchester headquartered company was founded over 20 years ago by chairman and technology guru scott fletcher mbe	Manchester Evening News	2016	Manchester
57	Business is booming in Manchester: almost 1,800 new companies launch in 12 months making city uk's start-up capital	Manchester Evening News	2016	Manchester
58	Joining tech hub leaders: Nottingham will put itself on the same footing as London and Manchester when a dedicated hub for growing technology businesses opens in September. Gemma Toulson reports	Nottingham Evening Post	2016	Manchester
59	Business leaders call for investment in infrastructure: Greater Manchester is leading the way with devolution and already has control over health and social care, criminal justice and planning powers	Manchester Evening News	2016	Manchester
60	Family-run storage company making their mark on Greater Manchester: BRITANNIA MILLS STORAGE COMPANY PRIDES ITSELF ON BEING THE CHEAPEST IN THE REGION AND HAS BRAND NEW STORAGE UNITS AVAILABLE FROM JUST Pounds 1 PER WEEK	Manchester Evening News	2016	Manchester

61	Great British Card Company Pounds 1m boost aim: IT COMES 12 MONTHS AFTER THE FIRM SECURED A SEVEN FIGURE INVOICE FROM MANCHESTER-BASED SECURE TRUST BANK COMMERICAL FINANCE	Manchester Evening News	2016	Manchester
62	Fintech firm AccessPay is boosted by Pounds 1m finance: THE COMPANY IS THE FIRST IN MANCHESTER TO BENEFIT FROM BARCLAYS' INNOVATION FINANCE	Manchester Evening News	2016	Manchester
63	Apple cofounder wows crowd at Business Rocks event: STEVE WOZNIAK PRAISES PIONEERING MANCHESTER IN FIRST VISIT TO CITY	Manchester Evening News	2016	Manchester
64	Rep. Walker Votes to Lower Taxes for Families and Businesses of North Carolina; Passes Final Version of the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act	Targeted News Service	2017	North Carolina
65	Indovance Expands Headquarters in United States as Demand for Services Continues to Grow: North Carolina-Based Global CAD Outsourcing Company Serves as Essential Business Tool to Increase Productivity for Enterprises Worldwide	PR Newswire	2017	North Carolina
66	Powerful Women In Business brings Global Conference to North Carolina	M2 Presswire	2017	North Carolina
67	Transportation Insight Recognized as North Carolina's Second Largest Privately Held Company: Logistics Provider Ascends Two Spots in Annual Ranking Published by Business North Carolina	PR Newswire	2017	North Carolina

68	CPCC's Small Business Center, Women's Business Center of North Carolina Partner to Host Conference Focused on	Targeted News Service	2017	North Carolina
	Female Veterans Interested in Business Ownership			
69	Business owners in North Carolina's Outer Banks are suing the construction company that caused a massive power outage.	CBS This Morning	2017	North Carolina
70	North Carolina Lawmakers Repeal Bathroom Bill; Move aims to reverse tide of businesses, sporting events snubbing state	Wall Street Journal (Online)	2017	North Carolina
71	Business leaders unite to boost third-grade literacy, slash US skills gap: North Carolina CEOs first to act on Business Roundtable policy blueprint	PR Newswire	2017	North Carolina
72	Manchester SMEs to contribute £188m to UK economy by 2022 in business boom	Manchester Evening News	2017	Manchester
73	Greater Manchester is leading the way in training the next generation of business and administration professionals: ADVERTISING FEATUREAPPRENTICESHIPS IN THE NORTH WEST ARE MORE POPULAR THAN ANYWHERE ELSE IN THE UK, WITH MORE THAN 30,000 PEOPLE COMPLETING THEM OVER THE PAST SCHOOL YEAR	Manchester Evening News	2017	Manchester
74	169 jobs created by start-up accelerator: THE MANCHESTER BRANCH, WHICH IS IS ONE OF 12 ACROSS THE UK, HELPED BUSINESSES TO ATTRACT Pounds 62M INVESTMENT	Manchester Evening News	2017	Manchester
75	Stocking dangerous cosmetics leads to £2,000 fine for Manchester business woman	M2 Presswire	2017	Manchester
76	Manchester is chosen as base for Dutch firm: jobs boost as healthcare company sets up at medtech centre	Manchester Evening News	2017	Manchester

77	Autonet bring 80 jobs to Manchester: IT IS THE FIRST OFFICE FOR THE INSURANCE COMPANY OUTSIDE ITS STAFFORDSHIRE HEADQUARTERS	Manchester Evening News	2017	Manchester
78	Online gaming giant to create 65 jobs in city: THE COMPANY HAS SEEN MASSIVE GROWTH IN MANCHESTER AFTER LAUNCHING IN THE CITY LAST MAY	Manchester Evening News	2017	Manchester
79	169 jobs created by start-up accelerator: THE MANCHESTER BRANCH, WHICH IS IS ONE OF 12 ACROSS THE UK, HELPED BUSINESSES TO ATTRACT Pounds 62M INVESTMENT	Manchester Evening News	2017	Manchester
80	American IRA Discusses How to Understand UBTI in a Self-Directed IRA: Unrelated Business Taxable Income (UBTI) is important to understand, even for those investors with a Self-Directed IRA. American IRA in North Carolina recently took to the company blog to explain.	PR Newswire	2018	North Carolina
81	Businesses commend Gov. Cooper's plan to bolster North Carolina's clean energy economy and reduce emissions	M2 Presswire	2018	North Carolina
82	Business North Carolina Features Mako Medical Laboratories and Its Record Setting Growth: Mako Medical Laboratories continues to set a blistering growth pace	PR Newswire	2018	North Carolina
83	Mako Medical Laboratories CEO Ranks as One of the Top CEOs in North Carolina: Triangle Business Journal presented the 2018 CEO of the Year Awards.	PR Newswire	2018	North Carolina

84	Golfers Brave Erupting Volcano In Hawaii To Sneak In A Round; Apple Is Reportedly Vetting North Carolina And Virginia As Potential Sites For Its New Campus; North Korea Negotiations; Royal Wedding Rehearsals; Jet Rental Business Soars	Finance Wire	2018	North Carolina
85	Mark Cuban, Don Peebles, And Byron Allen To Speak At The 23rd Annual Black Enterprise Entrepreneurs Summit: The nation's largest annual gathering of African American business owners, in Charlotte, North Carolina, June 6-9	PR Newswire	2018	North Carolina
86	Panel: Forget Amazon, Invest Locally: North Carolina Business Council hosts panel that advocates investing in growing local business	The Austin Bulldog	2018	North Carolina
87	North Carolina Struggles to Draw Businesses to Countryside	Dow Jones Institutional News	2018	North Carolina
88	North Carolina Struggles to Draw Businesses to Countryside; Cities like Raleigh and Charlotte are thriving, but rural areas labor to get past the collapse of tobacco, textile and furniture industries	Wall Street Journal (Online)	2018	North Carolina
89	Her Majesty's Treasury: Ambitious Manchester Can Grow Its Number of Dynamic and Vibrant Businesses	Targeted News Service	2018	Manchester
90	British Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy: Progress Towards Greater Manchester Local Industrial Strategy Unveiled	Targeted News Service	2018	Manchester
91	Micro firms are seeing real growth: thousands of new small businesses sprang up last year in manchester	Manchester Evening News	2018	Manchester
92	Lengthy ban for director of Manchester spare parts business	M2 Presswire	2018	Manchester

93	250 jobs at risk at laundry: workers	Manchester Evening	2018	Manchester
	thought jobs were safe after company	News		
	announced new contract with manchester			
	united			
94	Fears eased over 5,000 jobs linked with	Manchester Evening	2018	Manchester
	Carillion: MORE THAN 100 GREATER	News		
	MANCHESTER FIRMS WORKED			
	WITH COLLAPSED COMPANY			
95	Department of Labor Investigation	Targeted News	2019	North
	Results in North Carolina Business	Service		Carolina
	Owners Paying \$21,404 in Employee			
	Contributions, Unpaid Medical Claims			
96	North Carolina U.S. Attorney: Charlotte	Targeted News	2019	North
	Business Owner Is Sentenced to 2.5 Years	Service		Carolina
	For Transporting Stolen Property			
97	Business Leaders to North Carolina Gov.	Targeted News	2019	North
	Cooper: A Healthier Workforce Means a	Service		Carolina
	Stronger Economy			
98	Business leaders unite to bring high-quality	PR Newswire	2019	North
	pre-K to more children: North Carolina			Carolina
	CEOs and National Institute for Early			
	Education Research tout new			
	recommendations for increasing early			
	education access			
99	Manchester named best city in Britain for	i	2019	Manchester
	business: ECONOMY			
100	The academics banking on Manchester's	i	2019	Manchester
	£1.5bn makeover: The city is using			
	education to continue its post-industrial			
	reinvention and spur a building boom. Big			
	businesses are keen, but not everyone is			
	convinced. Thomas Hale and Andy			
	Bounds report			

101	Eaton Square Doubles in Size in the US with the addition of IBG Business: Eaton Square is proud to announce its transformative growth in the US with the addition of IBG Business. IBG Business is an award-winning and a nationally respected M& A firm with 25 deal makers across five offices in Colorado, Arizona, Oklahoma, North Carolina and Nevada.	PR Newswire	2020	North Carolina
102	SKEMA Business School Opens In- Person Classes September 16 in North Carolina: Undergraduate and Graduate Students Taking Live and Online Courses at SKEMA Business School	PR Newswire	2020	North Carolina
103	North Carolina grants \$15M in CARES Act aid to businesses and nonprofit groups	Washington Examiner	2020	North Carolina
104	North Carolina legislators propose new bills to help businesses in COVID-19 effort	Washington Examiner	2020	North Carolina
105	North Carolina Small-Business Owner Named to NSBA Leadership Council	U.S. Newswire	2020	North Carolina
106	It is clear businesses won't be able to survive indefinitely': LEADERS REACT TO TOUGHER TIER 4 RESTRICTIONS ON GREATER MANCHESTER	Manchester Evening News	2020	Manchester
107	Greater Manchester Chamber Launches GM Business Community	M2 Presswire	2020	Manchester
108	Manchester businesses agree to ban zero- hours contracts	FT.com	2020	Manchester
109	N.C. Commerce Dept.: North Carolina Businesses Encouraged to Provide Insight Into State Business Conditions	Targeted News Service	2021	North Carolina
110	North Carolina Business Surpasses 50,000 Google Reviews: National Pawn & Dewelry has 23 stores throughout the state	PR Newswire	2021	North Carolina

111	Appalachian Voices: 'Compromise' Energy Bill Will Harm North Carolina Families	Targeted News Service	2021	North Carolina
	and Businesses			
112	Duke Energy provides \$750,000 in grants	PR Newswire	2021	North
	across North Carolina for small-business			Carolina
	revitalization: - Hometown Revitalization			
	grants provide \$25,000 in funding for 30			
	local microgrant programs			
113	Local Businesswoman and Author	Targeted News	2021	
	Welcomes North Carolina Wesleyan	Service		Carolina
	College Class of 2025			
114	New Data Finds Aging Baby Boomers	PR Newswire	2021	North
	Own Half of Small Businesses in North			Carolina
	Carolina; Vast Majority Have No Concrete			
	Exit Plan, Putting Local Jobs and State			
	Revenue at Risk: New non-profit			
	organization aims to preserve businesses			
	by raising awareness of employee			
	ownership to strengthen the State's			
	economic resiliency			
115	Texas, Florida and Tennessee Top Chief	PR Newswire	2021	North
	Executive's 2021 Best & States			Carolina
	for Business Ranking: Annual survey of			
	CEOs also finds growing number open to			
	relocation post-Covid; North Carolina and			
	Indiana Round out top 5 in this year's list			
116	Jason Mitchell Real Estate, the Nation's #1	PR Newswire	2021	North
	Real Estate Team has officially opened its			Carolina
	doors for business in North Carolina			
117	5 reasons to relocate your business to	Republican & Herald	2021	North
	Charlotte, North Carolina			Carolina
118	FPCCI signs agreement with Greater	Pakistan Press	2021	Manchester
	Manchester Chamber of Commerce and	International		
	SME Centre of Excellence, UK on			
	Business Partnerships and Bilateral Trade -			
	Press Release issued by Federation of			
	Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and			
	Industry			

119	Tories try to restore reputation as the party of business in Manchester	Telegraph.co.uk	2021	Manchester
120	Business 'unicorn' emerges in Manchester	The Times	2021	Manchester
121	Duke Energy provides \$500,000 in grants for small businesses to support vibrant downtowns across North Carolina	Targeted News Service	2022	North Carolina
122	BritishAmerican Business Welcomes Signing of Memorandum of Understanding Between the UK and The State of North Carolina	Targeted News Service	2022	North Carolina
123	Litigation: SEC Charges Charlotte, North Carolina Business Consultant and His Company With Operating \$7 Million Ponzi Scheme	Targeted News Service	2022	North Carolina
124	Three North Carolina Businesses Selected as Second Cohort of the Pace Impact Project: Pace, a national marketing agency headquartered in Greensboro, provides pro bono social media support and training to small businesses.	PR Newswire	2022	North Carolina
125	James S. Farrin Recognized as One of North Carolina's Most Influential Leaders: Farrin Selected to Business North Carolina's 2021 "Power List" for Building One of the Largest Firms in the State	PR Newswire	2022	North Carolina
126	The Vitamin Shoppe's First-Ever Franchise Store Opens for Business in Greensboro, NC: The North Carolina opening is part of an innovative, omnichannel franchise model that expands	PR Newswire	2022	North Carolina
127	North Carolina Business Group on Health Launches Culture of Wellness Awards to Recognize Employer Wellness Programs - Send2Press Newswire	Send2Press Newswire	2022	North Carolina
128	What nextfor?: After shutting down its German business, where does the Greater Manchester-based online electricals giant go next?	Manchester Evening News	2022	Manchester

129	Devon environmental consultants bought up by Manchester business	The Western Morning News	2022	Manchester
130	The Center Square: North Carolina - Franklin News Foundation: Republicans score well, Democrats do not on business vote analysis	The Center Square: North Carolina	2023	North Carolina
131	On Reproductive Freedom Day of Action, Reps. Ross and Nickel Join ACLU and Business Owners to Discuss Impact of North Carolina's Abortion Ban	Targeted News Service	2023	North Carolina
132	A rare feat': North Carolina repeats as top state for business in CNBC study	Asheville Citizen - Times	2023	North Carolina
133	Boosting North Carolina's Small Businesses	M2 Presswire	2023	North Carolina
134	GoGreen of North Carolina Launches as a Pay-in Platform Ride-Sharing Company in Charlotte, Offers New Micro-Business Opportunity for Drivers	M2 Presswire	2023	North Carolina
135	It was her dream to open a mobile hair salon. But this Black entrepreneur says she was run out of a North Carolina town after her business was spray-painted with the N-word and other slurs.	Insider	2023	North Carolina
136	Invisible Systems: 20 years of innovative eco-conscious support for the UK's biggest businesses: The ManchesTer COMPANY SUPPORTs The uK's BIGGEST businesses in finding eco-conscious SOLUTIONs	Manchester Evening News	2023	Manchester
137	"Make Manchester the easiest city in the UK to be a zero-carbon business," accountants and business leaders to be told as UN calls for urgent action	M2 Presswire	2023	Manchester
138	Charity event success with businesses pledging to support Greater Manchester's young people	Wigan Today	2023	Manchester
139	Greater Manchester business leaders share benefits of paying real living wage	Wigan Today	2023	Manchester

140	Business sidelined at party conference as Conservatives grapple with identity crisis: Sunak risks alienating a key pillar of support, write Melissa Lawford and Szu Ping Chan in Manchester	The Daily Telegraph	2023	Manchester
141	Stations of the CROSS: BUSINESS LEADERS SAY SCRAPPING HS2 TO MANCHESTER WOULD COST THOUSANDS OF JOBS AND BILLIONS OF POUNDS IN INVESTMENT	Manchester Evening News	2023	Manchester
142	Talks to sell THG chief 's Manchester business park break down: Technology	Financial Times	2023	Manchester
143	Greater Manchester Youth Network urges businesses to support region's young people with new campaign	Wigan Today	2023	Manchester
144	Uni spin-out business lands £2.25m funding: AROUND THE NORTH MANCHESTER	Sunday Sun	2023	Manchester
145	A healthy future as Latus acquires allied businesses: 200-strong team formed with hull, manchester and leicester presence	Hull Daily Mail	2023	Manchester
146	Record year for company start-ups In Greater Manchester	Wigan Today	2023	Manchester
Total	146	146	146	146